The reception of Schubert in England, 1828-1883

Weller, Beth Anne

Awarding institution:
King's College London

THE RECEPTION OF SCHUBERT IN ENGLAND, 1828-1883

BETH ANNE WELLER

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF PHD IN MUSIC

KING'S COLLEGE LONDON

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines Schubert's reception in England between the year of his death in 1828 and the publication of Sir George Grove's music dictionary in 1883, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A.D. 1450-1883)*. At the time of Schubert's death, he was hardly known in England. Chapter I explores the introduction of his music to England and his early fame as a song composer. As songs had a firm place in a domestic setting, this section seeks to understand how the association with the home affected his image. It further investigates the effects of English nationalism on Schubert's acceptance. Chapter II examines the performers and music societies as well as general cultural forces which fostered Schubert's recognition as an equally gifted song and instrumental composer. Issues of performance standards in the acceptance of his instrumental pieces are also examined. Chapter III investigates the Crystal Palace and the particular roles of George Grove and August Manns in the proliferation of Schubert's music. Their rediscoveries of numerous substantial scores and subsequent national and even world premiere performances, along with the accompanying programme notes and later reviews in periodicals, helped to shape Schubert's image. Chapter IV considers canon formation in nineteenth-century England and Schubert's placement in the canon. It then appraises contemporary writings on avant-garde composers including Franz Hueffer's 1874 book, *Richard Wagner and the Music of the Future: History and Aesthetics*, and the influence these had on canon formation in terms of Schubert's reception. Chapter V analyses Schubert's image in contemporary English writings, particularly Grove's article on Schubert in the *Dictionary*, and assesses the degree to which a relationship between Schubert's works and biography was established in this period. It seeks to understand how biography impacted on his image and the way in which his works were received in England.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am truly indebted and thankful for the support, guidance and patience of my advisor, Michael Fend. Without his help this dissertation would not have been written. The assistance from the numerous libraries and collections that I visited made the research behind this thesis not only possible but also a memorable pleasure. A heartfelt ‘thank you’ also belongs to my husband, Alexander, my parents, Joan and Melvin Kaminsky, my sister and her husband, Debra and Chris Ackley, and Christine and Gerald Weller, for their support, motivation and assistance. I am also thankful for my little girl, whose love of naps gave me time to finish this project.

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF MUSIC EXAMPLES

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines Schubert's reception in England between the year of his death in 1828 and the publication of Sir George Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* in which a tradition of scholarly writing in English on Schubert emerged.[1] I shall focus on the 'history of social [and academic] responses' to Schubert's music and personality in nineteenth-century England.[2] The backbone of my research is the cataloguing of performances and publications in order to establish the dissemination of Schubert's works. This dissertation, however, is more than an analytical account of performance reviews and an examination of individual performers and musical societies. Issues of reception, such as nationalism, canonicity, and contemporary values, arose in nineteenth-century periodicals, books and programme notes and, thus, form an essential part of this dissertation.

Musical reception study is ultimately based upon literary criticism's initial formulation of reception theory. It was first developed by the Konstanz scholars of the German school of reception studies in literature in the 1960s and 70s.[3] Hans Robert Jauss originally proposed the term 'reception theory' in the late 1960s.[4] Although the term 'reception' escapes an easy definition, of prime importance to the theory are two distinctions. The first, Impact (*Wirkung*), 'centres on the work and its effects upon subsequent generations, especially authors.' The second aspect is Reception itself (*Rezeption*), which 'focuses on the reader, and the effects of the work upon him/her.'[5] Jauss, according to Christina Bashford, highlighted the need for the reception scholar to 'act as historian and to reconstruct the expectations of original readers, thereby fusing what he termed the "horizon of expectations" of past audiences with that of the standpoint of the modern

[1] Sir George Grove (ed.), *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A.D. 1450-1883) By Eminent Writers, English and Foreign with Illustrations and Woodcuts in Four Volumes* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1879, 1880, 1883, 1889).
[2] Jim Samson, 'Reception.' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40600 (accessed 1 June 2011).
[3] For a survey of the origins of literary reception theory, see Robert C. Holub, *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2003).
[4] Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 3-45.
[5] Christina Bashford, *Public Chamber-Music Concerts in London, 1835-1850; Aspects of History, Repertory and Reception* (London: 1996) Ph.D. Thesis, King's College London, University of London, 275, who cites Holub, *Reception Theory*, xi-xii.

scholar.'[6] These expectations undoubtedly change over time. M. H. Abrams defined the theory of reception history as the 'changing but cumulative way that selected texts are interpreted and assessed, as the horizons of successive generations of readers alter over the passage of time.'[7] Of course, literary and musical reception differ simply due to the nature of their contrasting media. Whereas in literature the text is directly interpreted by the reader, in music, apart from the skilled musician who can 'hear' a work by looking at the score, an intermediary person – the performer, who instils his or her own interpretation on the work – is required. Exceptions exist of course. For example the musician who plays in a private setting is not only the performer but also the audience. In literature, plays are destined for performance and thus an intermediary person(s) is also required.[8]

When writing a reception history, most scholars bind their investigation to a certain place and adopt various historical and social criteria in their selection. Further restrictions can be made by focussing on a particular work or genre. Reception histories can also accommodate scholars who 'chart trends in the critical appreciation of a musical work (or body of works), often through the most authoritative writers of the period [...] and those who focus on the reception of a musical work (or body of works) through one particular audience in one particular place at one particular time.'[9] Many researchers focus on reactions to first performances. Carl Dahlhaus, in 1977, published a theoretical discussion of what is meant by musical reception and its pitfalls.[10] In this work, Dahlhaus appealed for caution when dealing with a work's early reactions, because often the scholar 'accepts the origins of a view as a seal of its authenticity without necessarily being aware of the moral and political affinities of his value-decision.'[11] Thus one must choose sources carefully. In the present dissertation, I have given weight to many of these initial responses. However I attempt to look at a variety of responses. As Bashford argues, 'the rationale for using such materials centres on the notion that the contemporary music critics who wrote them may be said to represent – to some extent – the collective understanding of their cultural group.'[12] Yet Marcia Citron argues that 'response of the

[6] Bashford, *Public Chamber-Music Concerts*, 275.
[7] Bashford, *Public Chamber-Music Concerts*, 276, who cites M.H. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1988), 235.
[8] Bashford, *Public Chamber-Music Concerts*, 278.
[9] Bashford, *Public Chamber-Music Concerts*, 279.
[10] Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, trans. J.B. Robinson (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1997), 150-165. See here for other pitfalls the reception scholar faces.
[11] Dahlhaus, *Foundations*, 159 and Bashford, *Public Chamber-Music Concerts*, 279.
[12] Bashford, *Public Chamber-Music Concerts*, 281.

individual and reception of the group are not easily distinguished.'[13] Still, in the variety of reactions I investigate, similarities of response and therefore general trends of reaction arise. Furthermore, examining performance records often indicates how much cultural weight can be given to a particular response. For instance if a critic is extremely negative yet performance records show a large number of performances of the piece in question, then the critic's words are not less valid, but less a measure of overall audience reaction. As much as scholars try, as Bashford notes, it is 'impossible to recapture the intensity of response or complete range of reactions that accompanied and followed the performing "event"; we can only aim to come as close as possible to those reactions'.[14] This dissertation is such an attempt in tracing Schubert's reception history between 1828 and 1883.

Schubert proves to be a striking composer to investigate not only because of his 'uneventful career' and 'elusive character',[15] but also because the combination of his early death and numerous posthumous publications of his scores pose a different set of criteria for his reception than most composers. One writer, James William Davison, commented in 1839 about the large quantity of Schubert's song publications coming out of France: 'All Paris has been in a state of amazement at the posthumous diligence of the song writer, F. Schubert, who while one would think his ashes repose in peace in Vienna, is still making eternal new songs, and putting drawing-rooms in commotion.'[16] The majority of Schubert's instrumental works were published and premiered posthumously as well, creating a reception history that is different to the reception of works by a living artist in part because Schubert did not have the ability to choose what pieces were heard and published, and nor was he in a position to promote them. This dissertation illuminates the effects of a musical reception at variance with the time of the music's creation and the reception of a composer only selectively known and primarily associated

[13] Bashford, *Public Chamber-Music Concerts*, 281, who cites Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 166-167.
[14] Bashford, *Public Chamber-Music Concerts*, 282. For another summary on reception theory, see Timothy Robert Williams, *Immortalising the Past: Symphonic Reception, Idealism and Canon in Mid-Victorian London* (Cambridge: June 2008) Ph.D. Thesis, St Catharine's College, University of Cambridge, 16-18.
[15] Leanne Langley, 'Reception and Beyond: New Thoughts on Schubert in Nineteenth-Century England', *The Schubertian*, No. 58 (January 2008), 8. Paper also given as the keynote at the 'Schubert in Britain' Day, Schubert Institute (UK), University of Leeds, 16 June 2007.
[16] Otto Erich Deutsch 'The Reception of Schubert's Works in England', *The Monthly Musical Record*, Vol. 81 (October 1951), 200-203, quoted in Scott Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination, Vol. 1* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2006), 177. Original source: Anon., *The Musical World*, Vol. 11, No. 150 (24 January 1839). The attribution of this article to Davison, who was the editor of the paper at the time, appears to be by Messing.

with Lieder. Furthermore it highlights the importance of a composer's life story for the nineteenth century to appreciate high-class art.

England, more specifically London and Manchester, will be the focus of this dissertation. The majority of journal publications with a significant portion dedicated to music were printed in London. Although various other English cities such as Birmingham became regional musical hubs in which history was made, London and Manchester were the most central places to Schubert's reception in England, because in the course of the nineteenth century they became the principal venues for high-quality orchestral performance. Perhaps most importantly, it was the research and promotion by certain key figures that moved Schubert's international reception history to a new level and made England noteworthy in the production of premieres of his works.

Some key terms that are frequently used in this dissertation require clarification. The term 'journal' is used when discussing a 'newspaper or magazine that deals with a particular subject or professional activity'.[17] If the journal has a nonspecific focus, the term 'periodical' will be used.[18] Music journals and periodicals carrying music reports were numerous and they functioned as an educational and promotional tool. Music critics wrote for both types of journalism and, thus, this study incorporates the two.[19] One of the most frequently used primary sources here is the *Examiner* due to its coverage of musical events. Founded in 1808 as a weekly periodical, it contained 'regular, critical and well-informed coverage of music and music events'.[20] *The Times* is another commonly used source which was known for its generous music coverage.[21] Priced at either 4*d* or 5*d*, it had a daily circulation at around sixty to seventy thousand copies from the 1850s to the end of the century and employed music critics James William Davison (1846-1878) and Francis Hueffer (1878-1889) – who will figure prominently over the course of this dissertation. The *Musical World*, another frequently cited journal, also employed Davison as editor from 1843 to 1885 and Hueffer from 1886 to 1888. That both *The Times* and the *Musical World* employed Davison and Hueffer sequentially demonstrates a growing

[17] Anon., 'Journal.' In *Oxford Dictionaries*, http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/journal?q=journal (accessed 24 July 2014).
[18] Anon., 'Periodical.' In *Oxford Dictionaries*, http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/periodical?q=periodical (accessed 24 July 2014).
[19] For an overview of the musical press, see Leanne Langley, 'The Musical Press in Nineteenth-Century England', *Notes*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (March 1990), 583-592; and Leanne Langley, 'Music', *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, ed. J. Don Vann and Rosemary T VanArsdel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 99-126, and this dissertation's appendices.
[20] Langley, 'The Musical Press', 586.
[21] See Meirion Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance and the Press 1850-1914: Watchmen of Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 13.

acceptance of 'new musical trends.'[22] There are numerous other periodicals that will be used as sources to facilitate our understanding of the dissemination of Schubert's music and to demonstrate the agendas of the critics themselves. The periodicals articles under discussion were often influenced by contemporary ideology and, as such, views on the composer's perceived alcoholism and effeminacy, for example, will also be investigated as they directly influenced the reception of Schubert's life and in turn his music. Generally most articles in the periodicals under discussion in this dissertation are left unsigned and should be considered as such unless an author is specified.

Scholars use the term 'nineteenth century' in three ways. Some take it literally to refer to the years 1800 to 1899. Others identify the term with the reign of Queen Victoria (1837-1901), whilst a third group speaks of a 'long nineteenth century', between 1789 (the date of the French Revolution) and the start of World War I in 1914, primarily to reflect the social changes which occurred within these dates. In this study, 'nineteenth century' is used literally, simply because the focus is on the period 1828 to 1883. Similarly, the term 'Victorian' can be used to denote the period of Queen Victoria's reign (1837-1901) or it could be extended to 1914, reflecting her influence in the beginning of the twentieth century. In addition to its temporal use, 'Victorian' has been used in various geographic ways not only to refer to the United Kingdom, but also across Western Europe and in North America. Yet there are a host of connotations surrounding the term. Since thinking in cultural periods often leads to generalisations and concomitant distortions, Shiv Kumar notes that the 'outlines of the Victorian era blur beyond recognition in the confusion of contradictory charges'.[23] According to Kumar, Victorians have been charged with the claims that they were materialists yet overly religious, idealistic and nostalgic. They were also both conforming and individualistic. They preached manliness, yet succumbed to feminine standards. Their art contained both 'hypocrisy' and 'ingenuousness'. The list goes on, yet it speaks of personal reactions rather than object analysis, argues Kumar. The terms 'Victorian' and 'Victorianism', thus, have 'emotional connotations.'[24] Kumar contends that it is because of these preconceived notions that the terms defy any clear definition. Contrarily, Martin Hewitt argues that despite 'fuzzy' boundaries around the years 1830 and 1900, and regardless that the intervening period should not be considered 'homogeneous nor stable', there are 'distinct patterns, continuities and conjunctions', which make the term 'Victorian'

[22] Anne Dzamba Sessa, *Richard Wagner and the English* (London: Associated University Presses, 1979), 28; and Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 14-20.
[23] Shiv K. Kumar, *British Victorian Literature: Critical Assessments* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 2002), 4.
[24] Kumar, *British Victorian Literature*, 4-5.

sensible to use.[25] He, therefore, suggests a 'periodization on the basis of a set of configurations that include institutional forms, legal frameworks, conceptual understandings and rhetorics, regimes of knowledge, technological capacities, and characteristic cultural forms and processes.'[26] With these issues firmly in mind, I take this term literally because the majority of the discussion in this thesis takes place during the reign of Queen Victoria and in the majority of cases it can be considered synonymous with the term 'nineteenth century'. The word is not used when dealing with issues outside her monarchy.

Nineteenth-century England changed at an unprecedented rate. In 1801, according to that year's census, there were 8,872,980 people living in England and Wales. By 1851 this figure had more than doubled to approximately eighteen million (17,927,609). It continued to grow; the 1871 census listed the population at 22,712,266. The census ten years on showed the population had increased further, to 25,974,439.[27] The lack of civil and international wars in England resulted in a stable and peaceful country compared with much of the Continent, creating a safe haven for foreigners. This period was also remarkable for its tremendous growth in musical culture.[28] Numerous societies and orchestras sprouted up around the country and were led by domestic and foreign musicians of varying calibre and fame. The programming of concerts changed as well, reflecting the growth of a more serious taste in music. William Weber called this shift in both England and Western Europe 'the great transformation'.[29] It was in this period that 'orchestras retreated from contemporary music [...] and, in so doing, established some of

[25] Martin Hewitt, 'Why the Notion of Victorian Britain *Does* Make Sense', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (Spring 2006), 396.
[26] Hewitt, 'Why the Notion of Victorian Britain *Does* Make Sense', 397.
[27] G. Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 66. See also Robert Woods, *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 4-5.
[28] Simon McVeigh has shown how a vibrant musical concert culture existed in London in the previous century, to the extent that by 1790 the desire for music was often described as the 'rage for music'; see Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1. Thus, in the nineteenth century this passion clearly developed much further.
[29] See William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 3ff. However, Simon McVeigh has shown that a vibrant musical concert culture existed in London in the previous century, to the extent that by 1790 the desire for music was often described as the 'rage for music'; see Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1. Thus, the developments in the nineteenth century are a continuation of the previous century's growth.

the key principles of modern musical taste'.[30] Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, then Bach, Schumann and Mendelssohn, and lastly Wagner and Brahms entered the canon.[31] From the early part of the century, there was an 'explosion of readership in Britain and of periodical publication of all sorts': tabulating the creation of periodicals by decade demonstrates that there were 200 new periodicals in the 1800s, 170 new ones in the 1860s and a further 140 established in the 1870s.[32] Literature regarding music also greatly increased: 'Estimates place the number of nineteenth-century English music journals (i.e., those with a substantial portion of writing about music) at around 200 titles.'[33] Given that Schubert was unable to promote his own music due to his early death, this prevalence and culture of writing aided the dissemination of his music.

These changes are broad, and trying to make generalisations that cover the century or even the sixty-four years of Queen Victoria's reign is problematic. In the first half of the twentieth century, historians used categories such as 'early' or 'late' Victorian with the break often occurring in 1870.[34] The first section often constituted the core of the Victorian era with the second part almost construed as an addendum. Scholarship in the 1950s brought about a three-way division of the era, which broke pre-1870 into 'early' and 'mid-'.[35] In current literature the 1870s and early 1880s have become 'contested terrain, often loosely assimilated into the mid-Victorian.' Hewitt even suggests four periods, consisting of the mid-1830s to the end of the 1840s, 1846-ish to mid-1860s, 1867 to mid-1880s, and mid-1880s to Queen Victoria's death.[36] As can be seen by the variety of approaches, this period is fraught with changeability and complexity.

Hewitt's first three sections of the Victorian Era are closest to that of the periodisation of Schubert's reception history. His first period is from 1828 to 1849, the second from 1850 to 1865, and the third from 1866-1883. Hewitt's distinctions, like those of other historians, rest on social, cultural, economic, and political factors. So too is

---

[30] William Weber, 'The Rise of the Classical Repertoire in Nineteenth-Century Orchestral Concerts', *The Orchestra: Origins and Transformations*, ed. Joan Peyser (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1986), 361.
[31] See Weber, 'The Rise', 361.
[32] Ruth A. Solie, *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 45. These numbers, as Solie notes, take no account of those papers that were discontinued.
[33] Langley, 'The Musical Press', 584.
[34] Martin Hewitt, 'Victorian Milestones', *The Victorian World*, ed. Martin Hewitt (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012), 3, who refers to R.C.K. Ensor's volume of the *Oxford History of England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936) which covers 1870 to 1914 and Walter Houghton's *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870* (London: Yale University Press, 1985).
[35] Hewitt, 'Victorian Milestones', 4, who cites W.L. Burn's, *An Age of Equipoise: A Study of the Mid-Victorian Generation* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1964).
[36] Hewitt, 'Victorian Milestones', 4 and 9-46, which gives detailed explanations of the four periods.

Schubert's reception history a reflection of, most particularly, social and cultural change. Thus it is understandable that Schubert's reception should mirror that of a larger historical momentum.

Chapter I, 'Schubert's Problematic Fame as a "Song Composer" (1828-c.1849)', explores Schubert's early acclaim in England. Following a survey of performances and publications of the period, Franz Liszt's particular role in these areas, in addition to his transcriptions, is investigated. As songs had a firm place in domestic music making, and the first knowledge of the composer was based on Lieder, this section seeks to understand how these preconditions affected Schubert's image. Gendered language was often used to describe Schubert and his music. Robert Schumann's writings on the composer (available in translation in 1865), along with those by Frederick Niecks, and their influence on other writers are closely examined. In the case of Schumann, his influence on writers arises throughout the dissertation. The chapter further investigates the effects of English nationalism on Schubert's acceptance.

Much of the source material within this chapter is from primary sources – concert programmes and press announcements, advertisements, coverage of concerts, and reviews. Concert programmes give vital information such as location, date, performers involved, and works performed. Of course, pieces sometimes had to be cut or the order of the concerts was altered due to sickness or late arrival by performers, among other reasons. Good scholarly practice requires from us that programmes should be confirmed wherever possible through various means.[37] According to the availability of sources, concert programmes, concert announcements and their subsequent reviews were cross-checked to provide accurate data. The availability of documents in this type of research can also be problematic. Libraries may hold collections of programmes, which in themselves often lack completeness. The Crystal Palace programmes, for example, are incomplete due to a fire in 1936 which destroyed its archives. Press announcements, advertisements, coverage of concerts, and reviews form key sources for our understanding of Schubert in the English music scene. However, these primary sources

[37] See Stephen Lloyd, 'Ephemera of Concert Life: Programmes and Press Cuttings', *Information Sources in Music*, ed. Lewis Foreman (München: K.G. Saur, 2003), 348-349; and Christina Bashford, 'Writing (British) Concert History: The Blessing and Curse of Ephemera', *Notes – Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association*, Vol. 64, No. 3 (March 2008), 467.

are restricted in that we are able to deal only with those concerts that were advertised, and as such this type of source is limiting.[38]

There has been a surge of interest in nineteenth-century periodicals, resulting in their digitisation. Consequently, researchers are now in a position to search databases of journals through keywords and filters providing nearly instantaneous results. In the case of my research, a large amount of data was produced that required me to distinguish that which was pertinent. For instance, sometimes the search engine produced results that had to do with other people by the name of Schubert, such as the French composer Camille Schubert (1810-1889). There were also articles which scanned poorly so that the search engine misread a word and, thus, the article had nothing to do with my topic. The reverse must also be true: the search engine likely missed articles pertaining to Schubert. Thus, whilst these databases provide the researcher with fast, numerous results, they are imperfect. Furthermore, I used only the word 'Schubert' to produce search results assuming that it was unlikely that a writer would reference a work of his without mentioning his name. Of course this could mean that articles were overlooked; however these ought to be rare. Regardless, the information uncovered in this period on Schubert is extensive and therefore valuable for painting a nuanced picture of the proliferation of his œuvre in England's music culture between 1828 and 1883. Further sources comprise publication records of Schubert's music for this period, which assist in an understanding of the dissemination of his œuvre at this time.

Chapter II, 'The Transformation of Schubert's Image from "Song Composer" to "Song and Instrumental Composer" (1850-c.1865)', addresses the cultural forces, such as a growing reverence for past composers, behind the shift in Schubert's fame. Performers from a variety of nations became pivotal in Schubert's reception, demonstrating that the newly developed mobility of musicians was significant not only for Schubert's fame, but also for the general progression of music in England. Through a variety of sources largely comprising contemporary periodicals, I determine which individuals and societies had the greatest impact on Schubert's reception. Charles Hallé, for his individual performances and those of his orchestra, is given privileged space in this chapter. Felix Mendelssohn and his notorious rehearsal of the Symphony No. 9 in C major with the Philharmonic Society was pivotal in creating this specific piece's reputation and thus affected Schubert's overall reception. The Monday Popular Concert series was also highly supportive of Schubert's music and is thus examined in this chapter. Yet counter

[38] McVeigh argues that few public concerts have come to light that were not advertised in the press, thus demonstrating the usefulness of this type of source material; see McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, 75.

examples are also studied, such as John Ella and his Musical Union and the Philharmonic and the New Philharmonic Societies, which performed Schubert less. Additionally, performance practices are examined to ascertain their influence upon the acceptance of his instrumental works.

Chapter III, 'Schubert's Music at the Crystal Palace: A Case Study', examines the particular contribution of August Manns and Grove at the Crystal Palace to Schubert's English reception history. Programme notes and reviews are examined extensively. Particular emphasis is given to seven premieres for which the programme notes and corresponding reviews still exist, namely: the Ballets Nos. 1 and 2 from *Rosamunde*, *The Song of Miriam*, Symphony No. 6 in C major, Symphony No. 5 in B flat major, Symphony No. 2 in B flat major, Symphony No. 1 in D major, and Symphony No. 7 in E major. Apart from the important role of primary sources, particularly reviews in periodicals and programme notes, secondary sources by musicologists Michael Musgrave, Catherine Dale and Christina Bashford provided key information on the background of programme notes in England, George Grove and the Crystal Palace.[39]

In Chapter IV, 'The Path to Canonization of Schubert in English Music Journals and Histories after 1855', I examine a variety of theories on canon formation such as those by Carl Dahlhaus, Mark Everist, Joseph Kerman, and William Weber. Schubert's path to canonization is investigated. Beethoven's position within the canon and his impact on Schubert's reception necessitates his inclusion in this chapter. The chapter then examines contemporary writings on avant-garde composers including Franz Hueffer's book, *Richard Wagner and the Music of the Future: History and Aesthetics*.[40] These writers often claimed some of Schubert's music as consistent with other avant-garde composers and in doing so, created a dialogue concerning Schubert's placement within the history of music – whether as a classical or modern composer.

Chapter V, 'The Influence of Victorian Values upon Schubert's Image in Biographies (1866-1883)', investigates Schubert's image in contemporary English

[39] Michael Musgrave, 'The Making of a Scholar: Grove's Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Schubert', *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 86-114; Michael Musgrave, 'Changing Values in Nineteenth-Century Performance: The Work of Michael Costa and August Manns', *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 169-192; Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Catherine Dale, *Music Analysis in Britain in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); and Christina Bashford, 'Not Just "G.": Towards a History of the Programme Note', *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 115-144. Some of her other work was also consulted for this dissertation.

[40] Franz Hueffer, *Richard Wagner and The Music of The Future: History and Aesthetics* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1874|R Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, 2009).

writings as juxtaposed with Victorian values, and assesses the degree to which a relationship between Schubert's works and life was established in this period. It seeks to understand how contemporary views on artists' biographies influenced the ways in which his works were received in England. Schubert's biographies took several forms (such as articles in journals and books) and include Edward Wilberforce's *Franz Schubert: A Musical Biography*,[41] Reverend Hugh Reginald Haweis' *Music and Morals*,[42] Frederick Crowest's *The Great Tone-Poets: Being Short Memoirs of the Greater Musical Composers*,[43] and Coleridge's translation of Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn's *The Life of Franz Schubert*.[44] A great deal of emphasis is given to Grove's article on Schubert in the *Dictionary* in addition to his other writings. The ulterior motives and agendas of these authors affect the way in which Schubert's life is portrayed. Moreover, these authors bear witness to the extent to which Schubert's music became irretrievably bound up with his life's events. To sort through the myths perpetrated by these nineteenth-century authors, recent biographies, namely those by Maurice J. E. Brown, Christopher H. Gibbs, and John Reed, were vital texts.[45]

The dates encapsulating each chapter are rough distinctions, aimed not only to help the reader identify the period under discussion, but also to underline the periodization of Schubert's English reception – 1828 to 1849, 1850 to 1865 and 1866 to 1883. The first period (1828-1849) is characterized by his growing reputation as a 'song' composer. The second period (1850-1865) is not only the metamorphosis of his image from a 'song' composer to one known also for his instrumental works, but also the beginning of his canonization. Finally, the third period (1866-1883) is noteworthy for the effort by Schubert's biographers in creating images that aligned him with their own cultural values. This was also the period in which his status within the canon became solidified.

Up to this present thesis, only a few authors have investigated Schubert's reception history in nineteenth-century England. Otto Erich Deutsch's 1951 article leads the reader

[41] Edward Wilberforce, *Franz Schubert: A Musical Biography: From the German of Dr Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn* (London: W.H. Allen & Co, 1866).
[42] Hugh Reginald Haweis, *Music and Morals* (London: Ibister, 1874|R London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1906).
[43] Frederick Crowest, *The Great Tone-Poets: Being Short Memories of the Greater Musical Composers* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1874).
[44] Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn, *The Life of Franz Schubert*, trans. Arthur Duke Coleridge (London: Longmans, Green, and Co.: 1869).
[45] Maurice J. E. Brown, *Schubert: A Critical Biography* (London and New York: Da Capo Press, 1978); Christopher H. Gibbs, *The Life of Schubert* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and John Reed, *Schubert* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1987).

through the gradual growth of Schubert's fame from his early mention in the *Harmonicon* in 1828 to some remarks in periodicals in the 1830s. He includes early performances and briefly discusses the Musical Union, the Crystal Palace, Charles Hallé, and George Grove.[46] His short article is fact-based and does not attempt to understand Schubert's reception in historical terms. John Reed's 'Schubert's Reception History in Nineteenth-Century England' deals mainly with the music, and instead of discussing it chronologically, the author considers it by genre giving the titles: 'The Songs', 'Piano Music', 'The Chamber Music', and 'Orchestral Works'.[47] Some of the key people in Schubert's reception history are introduced, but like Deutsch, Reed does not place the reception history in context.

Leanne Langley's article, 'Reception and Beyond: New Thoughts on Schubert in Nineteenth-Century England', begins by giving an overview of prior research and explains her approach to Schubert's reception history. She looks at it chronologically in three phases. The first phase from 1830 to 1860 begins with the start of Schubert performances in England. Indeed, as I will show, little occurred between Schubert's death in 1828 and 1830. Her second phase, 1860 to 1890, coincided with Schubert being 'truly registered in England, thanks to a leap in the range and number of pieces available (piano, chamber and orchestral, some choral: many given repeatedly); the high status of composers programmed alongside him (Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Brahms); and the new level of public awareness generated by rediscovery and promotion' ranging from Haweis' book to the Crystal Palace and Manns and Grove's work there.[48] Whilst this is all true, I chose to break it down further so as to provide a more nuanced view of the rise in fame of his songs and instrumental music. Langley's third phase from 1890 to 1915 is described as one of 'artistic consolidation and social diffusion'.[49] Yet Langley has underestimated the power of the first biographies. Thus I argue that Schubert's canonisation takes place in my understanding between 1866 and 1883. Generally speaking, Langley has little space in which to cover eighty-five years of a colourful reception history. Thus, she assumes an expert audience which knew about the bare facts of Schubert in England in the 1800s, and she is able to historicise only snippets of Schubert's reception history. For example, regarding the resistance encountered by Schubert's music in the mid-1840s to late 1850s, she writes that it is 'attributable to two

[46] Otto Erich Deutsch, 'Reception of Schubert's Works', 200-203, 236-239.
[47] John Reed, 'Schubert's Reception History in Nineteenth-Century England', *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 254-262.
[48] Langley, 'Reception', 10.
[49] Langley, 'Reception', 12.

things: jealousy by London musicians, including the young journalist J.W. Davison who in the 1840s still felt himself an unjustly neglected "native" composer (he wasn't the only one); and an undeveloped, certainly underfunded and undisciplined, chamber and orchestral culture in the English capital'.[50] Indeed this was a part of the picture, but my dissertation aims to dig deeper.

David Gramit's article 'Constructing a Victorian Schubert: Music, Biography, and Cultural Values' begins by discussing what goes into a listener's response. In nineteenth-century England, this was dominated by the composer's name, which 'orientated listeners' expectations before a note sounded.' If their reputation was firmly established, this 'preliminary position was apt to be positive.' Yet if the status was 'uncertain [...] competing constructs not only provided widely varying positions from which to listen, but also resulted in drastically different valuations.'[51] Gramit chooses to focus on Grove and subsequent detractors of his article in the *Dictionary*, namely H. Heathcote Statham (whom I too shall discuss). This pairing, according to Gramit, demonstrates the 'degree to which musical evaluations depended on evaluations of the personal merit of the composer.'[52] Gramit also summarizes the main points of Schubert's reception history, namely: the composer's association with song and the feminine and early biographies of Schubert up to Grove. My dissertation takes this further and examines values other than gender (though of course this is discussed).

Timothy Robert Williams' recent Ph.D. dissertation, *Immortalizing the Past: Symphonic Reception, Idealism and Canon in Mid-Victorian London*, focuses on the symphonic reception of several composers of which Schubert is one. Williams argues that there were two perceptions of Schubert: the first idolised Mendelssohn. The Mendelssohnian mindset, according to Williams, criticised Schubert's symphonic works as too long and formally weak in comparison to Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Spohr.[53] The second perception of Schubert took its cue from Schumann. This tradition consisted mostly of progressive composers, namely Schumann, Liszt and Wagner. According to Williams, Schubert was grouped here largely because of Schumann's advocacy. It was in the late 1860s when these two Schuberts merged.[54] Indeed, many critics complained that Schubert's symphonies were too long and Schubert was for a time associated with Wagnerian musical proportions and his adherence to the

[50] Langley, 'Reception', 10.
[51] David Gramit, 'Constructing a Victorian Schubert: Music, Biography, and Cultural Values', *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Summer 1993), 66.
[52] Gramit, 'Constructing a Victorian Schubert', 67.
[53] Williams, *Immortalising the Past*, 136. See footnote 14 above.
[54] Williams, *Immortalising the Past*, 136-152.

poetry for direction of the musical line. However, my findings, which looked at Schubert's entire œuvre rather than one genre, showed Schubert's alignment with Wagner to be prevalent in the 1870s and, thus, these two Schuberts had not merged yet. Williams argues that 'the burgeoning scholarly acceptance of Schubert as a canonic composer thus brought about the composer's performance [...] and full-scale entry into the symphonic repertory, which in turn reinforced his canonic status.'[55]

In discussing the reasons for Schubert's canonisation there are two theories. One was a top-down idea in which Grove, largely through his programme notes at the Crystal Palace, formulated the way in which Schubert was perceived in the later part of the nineteenth century. Yet this, according to Williams, implies that audiences themselves remained unable to interpret Schubert's music.[56] Furthermore, if audiences interpreted and concluded that they disliked his music, repeat performances would have ceased. The other way to explain the change is a bottom-up shift in taste which was driven by the public, who changed the perspectives and therefore activities of scholars, performers and critics. Yet Williams claims this is 'hard to imagine', and instead a more complex process was in force where it was more 'consensual' and without a clear-cut cause and effect.[57] Indeed this bottom-up shift does seem to be the case, though it is far easier to assign people such as Grove as the true shifters in taste as their efforts are tangible, given that audiences were often silent on such issues. In fact, Anne Kristiina Widén in her dissertation on Liszt's reception in England, notes that audiences did interpret and judge and should be seen as separate from the critics, though the critics were the ones to influence taste for non-concert attendees, which gave them a 'position of hegemony'.[58] That the societies under discussion herein were successful with Schubert as part of their programming choices demonstrates audiences' affection for Schubert. I would argue, however, that there was no clear-cut cause and effect on how Schubert became canonic, but rather it was a 'consensual' process to use Williams' own word. It was a mutual interest by scholars and concert programmers that led to Schubert's eventual canonicity. Although Williams' and my dissertation intersect on several levels, I endeavour to look at all of Schubert's œuvre and discuss a range of influences of Schubert's rise into the musical canon.

Whilst Scott Messing also traced Schubert's early progress in nineteenth-century England and includes a discussion of many of his biographers, his study is largely centred

[55] Williams, *Immortalising the Past*, 142.
[56] Williams, *Immortalising the Past*, 146.
[57] Williams, *Immortalising the Past*, 146.
[58] Anne Kristiina Widén, *Liszt and 'The Musical Times': A Study of Reception in Victorian England* (Egham: June 2006) Ph.D. Thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 270-275.

on the theme of the composer's perceived effeminacy.[59] I have tried to broaden this view by discussing the way in which the literature was written, including a detailed analysis of Grove's extensive work. Whereas Messing largely focuses on Davison's early criticisms of Schubert's music to provide the background of distaste for much of Schubert's music, I have looked at the wider dialogue formed in various different journals of the day and in many cases traced their views back to Schumann's writing on the subject. I have also focused in greater detail on the roles of people such as Hallé and Ella, contextualising them into the more general picture of music in England.

An understanding of musical life in nineteenth-century England was paramount in embarking on this dissertation. William Weber has done extensive work in this field, much of which is pertinent to the present investigation. His studies on the musical culture at this time, such as his 1977 work, *Music and the Middle Class: the Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris, and Vienna Between 1830 and 1848*, became essential for my dissertation.[60] However, it received mixed reviews. Negative critiques focused on a lack of 'rigorous definition and differentiation' and 'meaningful socio-historical analysis.'[61] Despite this, as Leon Mayhew argues, Weber

> has accumulated additional evidence of the pervasive influence of the principal trends of nineteenth-century life: the rise of the middle-class, the growth emergence of the [concert] public, the professionalization of cultural activity, the development of social controls based upon the marketplace, and the increasing importance of special organisations devoted to specific purposes.[62]

Weber's investigations into the changes in performance repertoire in nineteenth-century England, such as 'The Rise of the Classical Repertoire in Nineteenth-Century orchestral Concerts' and 'Mass Culture and the Reshaping of European Musical Taste, 1770-1870', were also significant for this dissertation.[63] Though the first article was called 'first rate'

---

[59] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 176-209.
[60] William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: the Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris, and Vienna Between 1830 and 1848* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
[61] Alexander L. Ringer, '[Review of] *Music and the Middle Class: the Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris, and Vienna between 1830 and 1848* by William Weber', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Spring 1977), 155. See also Leon Mayhew, '[Review of] *Music and the Middle Class: the Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris, and Vienna between 1830 and 1848* by William Weber', *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (November 1977), 176.
[62] Mayhew, '*Music and the Middle Class: the Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris, and Vienna between 1830 and 1848* by William Weber', 178.
[63] For example: William Weber, 'The Rise of the Classical Repertoire in Nineteenth-Century Orchestral Concerts', *The Orchestra: Origins and Transformations*, ed. Joan Peyser (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1986), 361-386; and William Weber, 'Mass Culture and the Reshaping of European Musical Taste, 1770-1870', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (June 1977), 5-22.

by John Spitzer,[64] the second article was mistaken as to the timing of Schubert's rise to canonicity. Weber explains that around the walls of concert halls are the composers who became like deities in modern musical culture: 'first come the central trinity – Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven – then the early prophets – Handel and J. S. Bach – and finally the recent disciples – Schubert, Weber, Schumann, Spohr, and Mendelssohn.'[65] However, I will argue that, at least in the case of Schubert, this does not occur in the 1850s. It is not until the years 1866 to 1883 that his canonicity took place. Weber's 'The Musician as Entrepreneur and Opportunist, 1700-1914' was also a key text in its explanation of entrepreneurship in the nineteenth century as it pertains to musicians. This work also received a positive review from Jeremy Dibble.[66]

To balance out the writing of Weber, other texts, by Simon Gunn, Simon McVeigh and Jennifer Hall-Witt, were consulted to provide background information.[67] Gunn's book was particularly relevant in its discussion of the establishment of high culture outside of London, and the book acts as a counterweight to McVeigh's work on London. However, Gunn's book lacked the specifics my dissertation required of Charles Hallé's work in Manchester, which was found in Christina Bashford's writing on the subject, but she dedicated an entire book to the subject and thus one would expect a different type of focus. McVeigh also did not enter into a discussion of the more specific causes of change in Schubert's reception. Despite this drawback, he was valuable in providing the background knowledge needed to understand how Schubert fitted into the London music scene. Although the title of Hall-Witt's book may imply that it was less pertinent to the subject of this dissertation, there was a sheer wealth of information that was applicable. This work was relevant to my dissertation in its discussion of private concerts, the role of the Queen and other members of the aristocracy, and standards of listening. Lacking from the book, however, is an explanation of whether, and if so how,

---

[64] John Spitzer, '*The Orchestra: Origins and Transformations* by Joan Peyser', *Notes*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (June 1988), 715.
[65] William Weber, 'Mass Culture and the Reshaping of European Musical Taste, 1770-1870', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (June 1977), 5.
[66] William Weber, 'The Musician as Entrepreneur and Opportunist, 1700-1914', *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 3-24; and Jeremy Dibble, '[Review of] *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealist* by William Weber', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Spring 2007), 534-535.
[67] Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority in the English Industrial City, 1840-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); Simon McVeigh, '"An Audience for High-Class Music": Concert Promoters and Entrepreneurs in Late-Nineteenth-Century London', *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 162-184; and Jennifer Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2007).

the developments at the opera diffused into other musical avenues or whether other musical genres and societies affected opera production, apart from a short discussion on the Musical Union.[68]

With its focus squarely on the First Philharmonic Society of London, Cyril Ehrlich's book provides a wealth of information on the orchestra's history.[69] Yet embedded within his book are discussions of changes of English tastes and structures of British performance culture across the time period which will be taken up in this dissertation. It is the historicising behind the changes at the First Philharmonic that makes Ehrlich's book valuable to a host of researchers, not just those interested in the orchestra.

Of course, Schubert's music did not just take place in the public sphere and, as such, an understanding of drawing-room music was paramount. Richard Leppert's book on this subject matter served as a key source. However, its usefulness for my dissertation is limited because of his focal point being the eighteenth century.[70] By contrast, Nicholas Temperley's research overlaps with my topic.[71] Although Temperley's article breaks down the large genre into smaller repertoires, it still lacks the kind of detailed information one would have wanted. For instance, he names British composers who excelled in drawing-room music, but fails to identify the foreign composers. Temperley maintains that drawing-room music was technically undemanding without explaining how composers such as Schubert, who gave a distinctive and often demanding role to the accompaniment would fit into this format. Yet publication records show that Schubert's music was prevalent in the drawing-room setting, implying that pianists were far more skilful than previously assumed.

Other reception histories were also consulted, especially those that pertained to England. Rachel Cowgill's reception history of Mozart in London provides a detailed discussion of English perceptions of Mozart the prodigy and its effects upon his reputation. Her discussion of Mozart's role and placement within the 'Ancient versus Modern' debate was a particular strong point in terms of its partial applicability to later composers such as Schubert. Her appendices containing concert announcements and reviews were particularly valuable to this dissertation.[72] Widén's reception history of

---

[68] Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts*, 261.
[69] Cyril Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society* (Oxford: Carendon Press, 1995).
[70] Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
[71] Nicholas Temperley, 'Domestic Music in England 1800-1860', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 85, No. 1 (1958), 31-48.
[72] Rachel Elizabeth Cowgill, *Mozart's Music in London, 1764-1829: Aspects of Reception and Canonicity* (London: 2000) Ph.D. Thesis, King's College London, University of London.

Liszt in England, whilst in many instances containing topics pertinent only to Liszt, emphasises Liszt's lack of Englishness and more specifically, his unfamiliar concepts of musical taste.[73] Strikingly, Liszt's English reception was hindered by similar issues found in Schubert's reception, such as nationalism and taste. Yet in the case of Liszt, these issues came to the fore later, in some cases, by decades, and as such the nuances changed. For instance, the nationalism debate circulated around composers' nation of origin and their influence which affected Liszt's reception. However, in the case of Schubert, the debate focused on the performers of his music. As an active performer of both his own music and that of others, Liszt had other reception issues to deal with and, consequently, his reception is inherently different from that of Schubert. The strengths of both of these studies are in what they add to the knowledge of their particular composer in England. Like many reception histories, however, their transfer to other composers needs to be carefully examined.

This thesis aims to examine the myriad of changes in social and academic responses to Schubert's music in the period directly following his death up to the publication of the first edition of Grove's seminal *Dictionary* and his article on the composer therein. England had a vibrant music community that took part in the transformation of performance culture and scholarly writing on music. Although contemporary writings were dissimilar to the extended analytical ones of some contemporary German writers who contributed to the emerging discipline known as *Musikwissenschaft*,[74] they were a viable alternative and are representative of Victorian culture and values at the time of their inception. Most importantly, they illustrate the effect of their cultural values upon the historiography of music. This thesis will highlight the repercussions that Schubert's unconventional life had on his reception. In attempting to understand how a Victorian viewed Schubert, his music and his personality, it is important to have an understanding of his massively delayed canonization. Individual musicians, musical institutions and contemporary literature were instrumental in this process.

[73] Widén, *Liszt and 'The Musical Times'*.
[74] Dale, *Music Analysis*, 4.

CHAPTER I: SCHUBERT'S PROBLEMATIC FAME AS A 'SONG COMPOSER' (1828-C.1849)

When Schubert died in 1828, he was hardly known in England and what little was known concerned his Lieder. Generally, this was the case for the next two decades. Liszt and Queen Victoria are important for the rising fame of his song compositions, yet his reception was hindered, as will be seen in the ensuing pages, by issues of gender and nationality.

1. PERFORMANCES AND PUBLICATIONS OF SCHUBERT'S MUSIC

In 1821 Schubert's 'Trauerwalzer' was published in Vienna as part of his Op. 9, which was subsequently used as the foundation of Carl Czerny's set of variations, Op. 12 ('Variationen über einen bekannten Wiener Walzer'). Czerny's variations were published in Vienna in 1822 without crediting Schubert and were imported to London by the publisher Wessel a year later – the first of Schubert's music to reach England. Thus when the *Harmonicon* discussed the piece in 1823, it was without reference to Schubert.[1] A year later in 1824 the piece was published again by Birchall & Co, this time crediting Schubert. However, his name was cited in this same issue, which reviewed Joseph Czerny's 'Variations sur une Écossaise favourite de M. F. Schubert'. The *Harmonicon* mentioned Schubert's name four more times in the next five years and even printed a short obituary.[2] 'The Passing Bell' ('Zügenglöcklein'), published in 1826 by Cramer, Addison & Beale, was the only other piece published in England during Schubert's lifetime.[3] This was the extent of Schubert's fame in England at the time of his death in 1828 and is diametrically opposed to that of his contemporary, Beethoven.[4]

---

[1] See Deutsch, 'Reception of Schubert's Works', 200-201. The *Harmonicon* was a musical monthly which ran from 1822 to 1832.

[2] Unsurprisingly, John S. Sainsbury's *A Dictionary of Musicians, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time* (London: no publisher, 1827) did not mention Schubert's name. 'Trauerwalzer' was often attributed to Beethoven; see Brown, *Schubert*, 53.

[3] See Appendix 1 (all appendices can be found at the end of the dissertation) which details Schubert's publication history in England during this period.

[4] See Anon., 'Beethoven in London Concert Life, 1800-1850', *Music Review*, Vol. 21 (1960), 207-214; and Victoria L. Cooper, *The House of Novello: Practice and Policy of a Victorian Music Publisher, 1829-1866* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), 51-52.

Little changed for Schubert's reputation over the next few years. In 1831, Johanning & Whatmore reprinted No. 3 in F minor from *Moments musicaux* (D780), Op. 94 for pianoforte as a 'Russian Air'. In 1831 in London, German soprano Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient (1804-1860) sang 'The Erl King',[5] with an English translation of Goethe's text by Sir Walter Scott. The piece was published by Wessel and received the review that in addition to the preference for Taylor's, rather than Scott's translation, 'our prejudice [is] in favour of Callcott's mode of treating the words, though there is much to approve in the present composition'.[6] There are some significant differences between Schubert's and Callcott's renditions. Callcott's version of 'The Erl King' (published in 1798) contains two treble parts and a bass line without any accompaniment. The top treble line represents the voice of the child whilst the bass part represents the Erl King. The father and narrator are represented by all three voices together; the second treble part only once has a solo at the questions, 'Why trembles my darling? Why shrinks he with fear?' which was taken liberally from the German: "Mein Sohn, was birgst du so bang dein Gesicht?" Schubert's version utilizes only one singer with an accompaniment, noteworthy for its repeated triplets symbolizing the galloping horse, which change only when the Erl King appears. Whereas in Schubert's version the role of the accompaniment is almost that of a narrator, Callcott's 1798 version lacks accompaniment. However, the 1884 version of Callcott's song contains accompaniment which doubles the vocal lines. Vocally, the two pieces are very different from each other. In Callcott's the voices mostly move stepwise, whereas in Schubert's the vocal lines do not. Thus, Callcott's music comes across as plainer.[7] There is no surprise, therefore, that critics who were used to this simpler version gave only limited approval to Schubert's song. Although their initial praise was hesitant, by the later part of the decade this song would become one of the English public's favourite Schubert songs, as can be witnessed through contemporary periodicals. 'Erlkönig' had thirteen performances in this period and a further twenty-three between 1850 and 1866. Its popularity is surpassed only by 'Ave Maria' with fourteen

[5] Titles are kept in the language given by programmes and newspaper articles as these imply the language in which they were sung or published.

[6] *Harmonicon*, Vol. 10 (1832), 14. See also page 280. The *Cadeau* also reprinted this song in 1832; see Deutsch, 'The Reception', 202. This review refers to John Wall Callcott (1766-1821), a theorist and popular glee composer. For further information see Nicholas Temperley, 'Callcott, John Wall.' In *Grove Online. Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/04604 (accessed 20 January 2010).

[7] Scores consulted: John Callcott, 'The Erl King' (London: Boosey and Co., 1884) and (London: no publisher, 1798). Franz Schubert, 'Erlkönig' (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1894-1895).

and thirty-eight performances in the same two periods and also by the most popular song, 'Der Wanderer', with twenty-six and seventy-five performances respectively.[8]

Apart from Czerny's Op. 12 and 'The passing bell' ('Zügenglöcklein'), nothing else was published in the 1820s.[9] Publications of Schubert's works proceeded in this slow manner. It cannot have been economically viable for the two original publishing houses to print his songs. This is especially true considering that apart from two songs, Wessel appears to have waited until 1837 to print his songs again and Cramer, Addison & Beale withheld publishing until 1839, but then had a mini-hiatus and did not publish again until 1842. The 1830s did see a few more published pieces – mostly songs – but this was indeed a slow process as only one or two pieces were printed a year.

The 1840s witnessed a drastic rise in the number of publications of Schubert's song and dance music which reflects developments in the concert hall. This increase can be credited to well-known performers in prominent concert halls. Irish-born composer and singer, Michael William Balfe (1808-1870) was one of the first to perform 'Der Wanderer' in 1838 at the Hanover Square Rooms. These rooms were situated near St James' Square and Regent Street; a very fashionable and exclusive part of London.[10] They became one of the most famous concert halls and were regarded as elegant.[11] That Schubert's music was performed here elevated his music. It was not until 1841 that 'Der Wanderer' appears to have had another performance, this time by the Austrian bass Joseph Staudigl (1807-1861), at Buckingham Palace. Now a shorter gap occurred to the next performance of 'Der Wanderer', which was sung by the English contralto Charlotte Sainton-Dolby (1821-1885) on 29 April 1842 at the Hanover Square Rooms. Staudigl again performed the song on 20 May 1842. Performances of the song from this point on appear frequently demonstrating its gain in popularity. The performance history of 'Erlkönig' is similar to that of 'Der Wanderer'. 'Erlkönig', first heard in 1831 by Schröder-Devrient at the King's Theatre, was not performed again until 29 June 1840 by Franz Liszt (1811-1886) in a piano transcription. The King's Theatre was in Pall Mall, close to the Hanover Square Rooms, and thus had the same exclusivity and elegance associated with its name.[12] Its association with opera added the fashionableness of the location and thus for Schubert's work to be heard in such a location, elevated his reputation. Similar to 'Der Wanderer', 'Erlkönig' had to wait to be heard again, this time

[8] See Appendices 2 and 3.
[9] See Appendix 1.
[10] Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts*, 124.
[11] Michael Forsyth, *Buildings for Music: The Architect, the Musician and the Listener from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 35.
[12] Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts*, 124.

by a certain Walton (first name unknown) on 23 February 1841. Staudigl is the next to sing 'Erlkönig' at Buckingham Palace on 26 May 1841, followed by Sainton-Dolby on 10 May 1842 at the Hanover Square Rooms. Performances of this song gain in frequency from this point in time. Much the same can be said of 'Ungeduld', 'Die Post', 'Ave Maria', 'Gretchen am Spinnrade', and 'Die Nonne'. All of which, coupled with 'Der Wanderer' and 'Erlkönig', are now considered some of Schubert's best. 'Der Wanderer' and 'Erlkönig' provide us with tangible examples of not only the close link between well-known artists and well-respected venues but the role these performers had in Schubert's reception history in England.

The word 'genius' began to be linked to Schubert's name in the 1840s. Starting in 1840, the *Musical World* published two advertisements. The first, by Ewer & Co, was for Schubert's 'Anguish' ('Aufenthalt') and described the song as 'more thoroughly indicative of genius than any one of the rest'.[13] Wessel & Co, on the advertisement for 'Gently Close Thine Eyes' and ''Tis a Mill That's Yonder', called Schubert a 'song-making genius'.[14] The use of the word here of course served to help market these pieces as high quality. It was not until 1844 that the word 'genius' was used again, in conjunction with the performance of the Overture to *Fierrabras*. As will be discussed, although the piece itself was given poor reviews the author described Schubert as having 'inventive genius'.[15] Throughout the rest of the decade and even in the 1850s the word 'genius' is infrequently used in advertisements for Schubert's music.

There were other ways in which periodicals demonstrated Schubert's growing popularity. *John Bull* in 1843 commented that 'we cannot take up an English ballad without perceiving that the composer's head is full of Spohr, and Weber, and Schubert, whose defects and mannerisms it is much easier to copy than their beauties.'[16] Within this commentary there is a sense of the overall preference of the writer for native, English music rather than German compositions. This aspect of commentary, as it pertains to Schubert's vocal writing, will be discussed in more detail later. Presumably by the same author, *John Bull* also published a commentary complaining that contemporary English composers unsuccessfully imitate the works of Spohr, Weber and Schubert. In 1846 in discussing 'Adeline's Song', the *Daily News* complained that the piece's 'pianoforte accompaniment was too elaborate. [...] In this respect our [English] young composers all

[13] *Musical World*, 12 March 1840.
[14] *Musical World*, 15 October 1840.
[15] *The Times*, 11 June 1844 and republished in *John Bull* and *Examiner*, 15 June 1844.
[16] *John Bull*, 15 July 1843 and 17 July 1843.

imitate Schubert.'[17] Clearly then Schubert's songs were prominent enough in the mid 1840s to be perceived as a threat to English composers' styles.

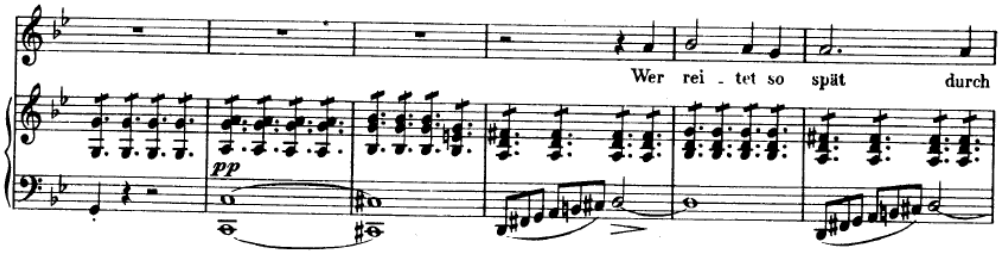
Few of Schubert's instrumental works were performed in this period and, when they were, the reviews demonstrated the high regard held for the composer's songs, such as in the reviews for the *Fierrabras* Overture performed on 10 June 1844. The *Examiner* argued that it was 'much to the disappointment of everybody; for something of a superior kind was expected from one whose vocal works show him to have been endowed with no small share of inventive genius'.[18] Thus, the review suggests disappointment that the overture was not more original and inventive and the lack of these qualities was a surprise. Although lacking the critical undertones of this review, *John Bull* likewise claimed that the 'overture by Schubert, the composer of the celebrated songs [...] disappointed the expectation excited by his name'.[19] It appears that no other orchestral works were performed that decade, yet Schubert's fame as a song composer continued to develop with a number of performances and publications of his songs both in the original format and as transcriptions for piano.

2. FRANZ LISZT'S ROLE IN SCHUBERT'S RECEPTION

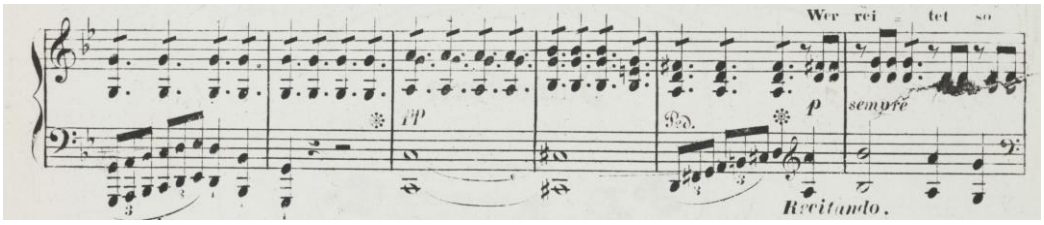
One performer of the 1840s – Franz Liszt – deserves specific mention here as he also transcribed, published and performed over fifty pieces for pianoforte solo, which became some of the most popular items in his concert repertoire in the 1840s across Europe.[20] It was Liszt who was the first pianist to give solo recitals, which, in addition to mixed recitals which were given usually by two performers, became popular in the 1840s and 1850s.[21] As opposed to other pianists, such as Ignaz Moscheles (1794-1870) and Sterndale Bennett (1816-1875), the repertoire of Liszt's concerts focused on works of his

[17] *Daily News*, 27 June 1846. The article claims that it was 'Adeline's Song' from Bulwer's 'Rienzi'. Edward Bulwer-Lytton (1803-1873) was an English novelist, poet, and playwright, who wrote the libretto for Wagner's *Rienzi*. Yet the article clearly states that this song was by an English composer and thus it is unclear who wrote the song.
[18] *Examiner*, 15 June 1844.
[19] *John Bull*, 15 June 1844.
[20] See Derek Watson, *Liszt* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1989), 515-516, for a list of his Schubert transcriptions. For more on Liszt's transcription, publications and performances, see Alan Walker, et al. 'Liszt, Franz.' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/48265pg28 (accessed 30 August 2011); and Ronald Taylor, *Franz Liszt: The Man and the Musician* (London: Grafton Books, 1986), 95. Liszt's concert tours took him to London in 1840.
[21] Janet Ritterman and William Weber, 'Origins of the Piano Recital in England, 1830-1870', *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture: Instruments, Performers and Repertoire*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Therese Ellsworth (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 171.

own rather than classical compositions.[22] From the documents in Appendix 2 it can be seen that Liszt's renditions of 'Erlkönig' and 'Ave Maria' appear to have been performed the most in England. Their popularity is not surprising given the positive reaction to Schubert's original. Liszt's transcription of 'Erlkönig' is quite true to the original, which aids in creating a similar listener response to the piece for nineteenth-century listeners. The variations are usually down to the voicing in order to differentiate the 'singer's' part, as can be seen below:



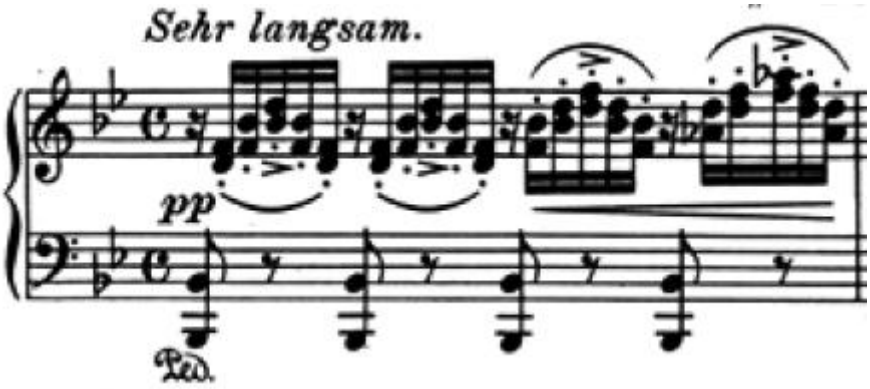
Example 1: Schubert's 'Der Erlkönig', bars 10-16.[23]



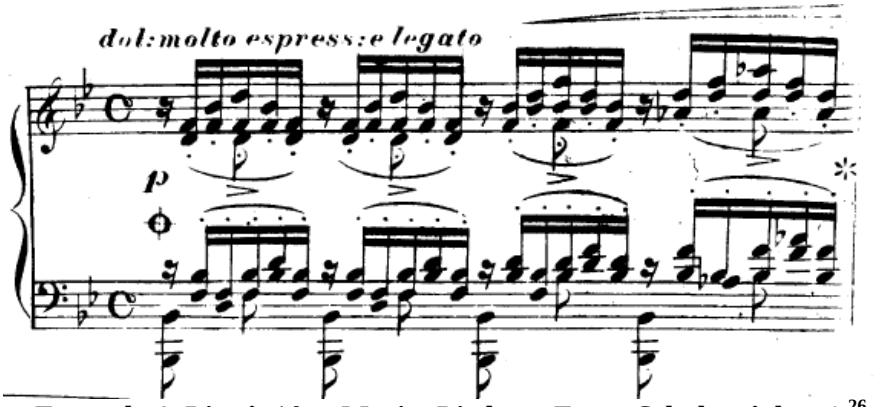
Example 2: Liszt's 'Erlkönig: Lied von Franz Schubert', bars 11-16.[24]

In bars 15 to 16, Liszt adds the low A-B^{b}-A-G to the left hand to aid the listener in hearing the 'vocal' line. To this end, Liszt also thins out the accompaniment in the right hand in bar 16 and adds quaver rests as well to bars 15 and 16. These kinds of changes continue throughout the Lied. 'Ave Maria', however, is treated differently. From the outset, Liszt adds an additional line of accompaniment:

[22] Ritterman and Weber, 'Origins of the Piano Recital', 179.
[23] Schubert, 'Erlkönig', bars 10-16.
[24] Franz Liszt, 'Erlkönig: Lied von Franz Schubert', in Franz Liszt, *12 Lieder von Franz Schubert* (Vienna: Anton Diabelli & Co, 1838), No. 4, bars 11-16.



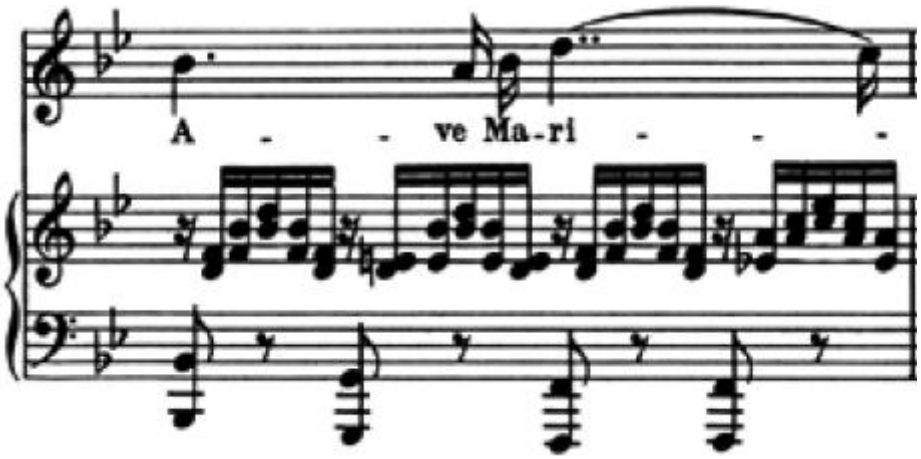
Example 3: Schubert's 'Ave Maria', bar 1.[25]



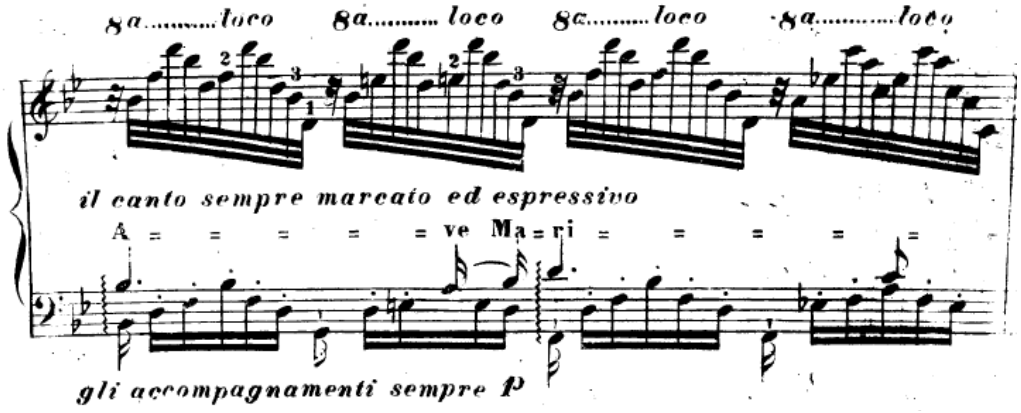
Example 4: Liszt's 'Ave Maria: Lied von Franz Schubert', bar 1.[26]

These changes continue through verse 1. Whereas Schubert made use of repeats for the second and third verse, Liszt composes new accompaniment for verse two (Example 6 below as compared with verse 1 of Schubert's original shown in Example 5) and does not use verse three at all.

[25] Franz Schubert, 'Ave Maria', ed. Max Friedlaender (Leipzig: C.F. Peters, no date), bar 1.
[26] Franz Liszt, 'Ave Maria: Lied von Franz Schubert', in Franz Liszt, *12 Lieder von Franz Schubert*, S.558 (Vienna: Anton Diabelli & Co, 1838), No.12, bar 1.



Example 5: Schubert's 'Ave Maria', bar 3.[27]



Example 6: Liszt's 'Ave Maria: Lied von Franz Schubert', bar 17.[28]

The 'voice' in Liszt's transcription is an octave lower in both verses, but the real difference in the second verse is the texture provided by the right hand. Yet despite these pieces' popularity, only 'Erlkönig' seems to have been published in London.[29] By contrast, perhaps it was due to these alterations that 'Ave Maria' was published less often.

Liszt's adaptations were also performed frequently in concerts by other well-known artists, such as Charles Hallé (1819-1895), Anton Rubinstein (1829-1894) and Ernst Pauer (1826-1905). As shown in the documents in Appendices 2 and 3, these performances started in the late 1850s, with a preference given to the *Valse Caprice in A minor, Soirées de Vienne* (S427), which was based on Schubert's *12 Valses nobles*

[27] Franz Schubert, 'Ave Maria', bar 1. Some publishers choose to use the repeat symbols, yet others as in this example do not.
[28] Franz Liszt, 'Ave Maria: Lied von Franz Schubert', bar 17.
[29] See Appendix 1. 'Der Erlkönig' was published by Augener from 1838 to 1900 and in 1860 by Addison & Hodson.

(D969) and *Valses sentimentales* (D779). Many of the songs were introduced to audiences for the first time (though not necessarily performed for the first time in England) through these variations. 'Sei mir gegrüsst', for example, was published first as Liszt's transcription in 1838 by Mori & Lavenu and subsequently as Schubert's song but with Italian words in 1840 by C. Lonsdale, but it does not appear to have been sung in England until 1860. Thus not everything Liszt transcribed became popular in England. Schubert's reception history in Europe is a strange case in the 'unusual importance' of transcriptions, argues Christopher Gibbs;[30] these played an important role in that they were written and published several times before the original versions were popular. According to my appendices, this does not appear to be the case in England at least. Instead, what we see is a simultaneous popularity (or lack thereof) of the transcriptions and the originals.

Discussing the high quality of Liszt's transcriptions, Derek Watson explained that they were unlike the popular nineteenth-century arrangements for piano which were of the 'pot-pourri variety', even though many were composed to supplement Liszt's income. Most interestingly, Watson took the view that Liszt's transcriptions greatly helped Wagner's early reception history and likewise Meyerbeer's popularity.[31] In the case of Schubert, Liszt published over twenty pieces in London between 1828 and 1866, all of which were songs as demonstrated in Appendices 1 and 7. Although virtually unknown today, Liszt's transcriptions popularized a large number of Schubert's music through concerts and publications for domestic use in nineteenth-century England.

3. QUEEN VICTORIA'S INFLUENCE ON SCHUBERT'S RECEPTION

Not only were the songs 'Der Wanderer' and 'Erlkönig' given early debuts at Buckingham Palace, but throughout the 1840s and 1850s there were a high number of performances of Schubert's music at the residences of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. Their love of music, and especially Mendelssohn's, is well known; however, their appreciation of this art stretched to a variety of other composers including Schubert. Music was one of Queen Victoria's favourite pleasures and, except during her extensive mourning period from 1861 to 1885, she was a prominent patroness and consumer of

[30] Gibbs, *The Life of Schubert*, 181. The same is true of Mozart's operatic music; for an example, see Peter Branscombe, *W.A. Mozart: Die Zauberflöte* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1.

[31] See Watson, *Liszt*, 196. See Widén, *Liszt and 'The Musical Times'*, for Liszt's reception history in England. Of particular interest is her discussion of poor reviews of instrumental adaptations by Liszt in the second third of the nineteenth century (pp.93 and 107-109).

music.[32] Queen Victoria was taught both to sing and to play the pianoforte. From an early age she developed a love for Italian opera.[33] In her adult life, Queen Victoria regularly attended the opera (predominantly Italian), seeing between ten and thirty-five performances per season from her accession in 1837 to Prince Albert's death in 1861. Through her attendance she not only added popularity but also boosted ticket prices.[34] Prince Albert, on the other hand, was taught the organ and composition. His love was for Germanic music rather than the more fashionable opera and he can therefore be credited with Schubert's relative prominence in the music at court.[35]

Jennifer Hall-Witt in her discussion of opera and elite culture in London notes that 'whereas the attention given to George IV as prince focussed on his drunkenness and rude behaviour, what observers saw in Victoria's [opera] box was a model of good taste and propriety'.[36] This helped to change the poor behaviour once commonly found at the opera houses. However Victoria's model of good behaviour and taste did not stop there. According to Hall-Witt: 'members of the elite enhanced their image not only by rallying around the queen and becoming models of proper behaviour, but also by reforming their morals and showing concern for the poor'.[37] That the programmes for concerts held by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were printed in detail in the periodicals combined with her position as role model (and by extension Prince Albert) demonstrates the importance of our examination of her and Prince Albert's role in the dissemination of Schubert's music.

---

[32] For example, she was patroness of the opera, The Royal Choral Society, and the Philharmonic Society, where reportedly Prince Albert specifically requested Schubert's *Fierrabras* Overture (the reviews by the *Examiner* and *John Bull* of this performance have already been mentioned earlier in this chapter). According to their programme notes Prince Albert was a patron of the Musical Union and he was also the Director of the Concerts of Ancient Music; see Michael Joe Budds, *Music at the Court of Queen Victoria: A Study of Music in the Life of the Queen and Her Participation in the Musical Life of Her Time [Volumes I-III]* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, May 1987) Ph.D. Thesis, University of Iowa, 381ff. For more on their patronage of music, see Leah Kharibian, *Passionate Patrons: Victoria & Albert and the Arts* (London: Royal Collection, 2010), 88ff.

[33] Helen Rappaport, *Queen Victoria: A Biographical Companion* (Santa Barbara, Ca: ABC-Clio, 2003), 274.

[34] Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts*, 162, 175 and 200.

[35] Unfortunately, I could not find any mention of Schubert in Queen Victoria's letters held by the British Library. As the quantity of her writing in the form of letters and diaries is immense, given her lengthy reign, time did not permit an exhaustive search to pursue this avenue. Sources at the British Library checked: Queen Victoria, *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence Between the Years 1837 and 1861, Volumes 1-III*, ed. Arthur Christopher Benson and Viscount Esher (London: 1907|R London: John Murray, 1911); and Queen Victoria, *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence and Journal Between the Years 1862 and 1878, Volumes 1-III*, ed. Arthur George Earle Buckle (London: John Murray, 1926).

[36] Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts*, 203. For more discussion of Queen Victoria as a model of propriety at the opera see pages 186 and 201.

[37] Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts*, 204.

There was a variety of music at court. For instance, Queen Victoria formed a Private Band to play background music at dinner parties and drawing-room functions. She also often hosted small dances, known as quadrille parties, and frequently invited professional musicians to perform for her. Musical capabilities were among the usual prerequisites for becoming a Maid of Honour to Queen Victoria.[38] Occasional concerts were organized by Prince Albert as festive events in the life of his family and court, which were often held on 1 January or on 10 February, the Queen and Prince's wedding anniversary. Although the audience was limited to family, the royal household and select guests, the events were well publicized in the press.[39]

Typically two state balls and two state concerts were held at Buckingham Palace each season. As many as two thousand guests attended the dances, whilst the concerts included a guest list of three to four hundred. Before her marriage in 1840, the main focus of these was Italian opera.[40] With Prince Albert's influence, the concerts became more diverse, although the majority of German songs and arias were still rendered in Italian.[41] The main exception appears to be Schubert's Lieder, often sung by Mario in French.[42] Michael Joe Budds in his Ph.D. thesis on music at the court of Queen Victoria examined the programmes of these State Concerts between 1840 and 1860 and placed the composers in three groupings. Category one was for those composers who enjoyed more than ten performances, category two was for those with three to ten performances and finally category three was for those with one to two performances. Schubert falls into category one, with a total of fifteen performances. Other composers in this group are Donizetti, Mendelssohn, Mercadante, Meyerbeer, Mozart, Rossini, and Weber. The majority of music from the repertoire of these composers consists of arias, duets or trios from their operas. That Schubert's Lieder should feature so prominently given that his operas were not well known at this time is striking. Although 'Ave Maria' and 'Erlkönig' become very popular as the century wore on, they are only sung once, both in 1847, and 'Der Wanderer' is never performed. This makes sense given the operatic tone of these concerts. Mario, the most common performer of Schubert's music at the concerts, sung 'Jusqu' à toi' ('Ständchen') twice, along with 'La douce paix' from *L'Attente* (possibly

[38] See Budds, *Queen Victoria*, 131-132. Her Maids of Honour formed a musical group in their own right.
[39] See Budds, *Queen Victoria*, 409-413. Generally, large-scale works for vocal soloists, chorus and orchestra, such as Mendelssohn's *St Paul* and Spohr's *Die letzten Dinge*, were programmed, so Schubert was unlikely to have been performed at these.
[40] See Budds, *Queen Victoria*, 480-481, for more details on the state balls and state concerts.
[41] All programmes, however, were submitted to the Queen for approval; see Budds, *Queen Victoria*, 5.
[42] See Budds, *Queen Victoria*, 501-511, for more information on performers at these events.

'Du bist die Ruh'). Surprisingly, Beethoven falls into Budds' next category together with twenty-five other composers, whose works were given only three to ten performances. Through his Lieder, Schubert ranks as one of the most performed composers of this period.[43] After the death of Prince Albert these concerts took a three-year hiatus, resuming in 1864 and continuing through 1900 with the Queen's supervision, but without her official presence due to her extended mourning period.

The format of these concerts changed upon Prince Albert's death and now consisted of an orchestra with a large chorus, omitting the piano accompaniment. There was, however, a small percentage of part-songs included. The reason for this change is unclear and Schubert is less frequently performed from this point forward. Budds' groupings of composers whose music was performed in the period from 1864 to 1900 changes. Category one, which features composers who enjoyed twenty-five to eighty performances, and category two which consists of ten to twenty performances, both contain composers who were either alive during the period or only recently dead, such as Verdi, Wagner, Meyerbeer, Berlioz, Weber, and Mozart.[44] Group three, consisting of four to nine performances, includes Gluck, Handel, Offenbach, Rubinstein and Saint-Saëns, along with English composers William Sterndale Bennett and William George Cusins. It is here, in group three, that the number of performances of Schubert's music sits. Finally, group four, comprising only one to three performances, includes many composers relatively unknown today, alongside Bruch, Elgar, Hummel, Palestrina, Puccini and Tchaikovsky. Whereas in the first period (1840 to 1860) Schubert's music was comprised of songs, usually in Italian or German, the second period utilised choral pieces, reflecting the new trend at these concerts. This significant drop in the second period of performances of Schubert's works mirrors the shift in focus from his songs to his instrumental works in the concert halls (as will be explored in Chapter II).

In addition to these State Concerts, there were numerous Command Performances given throughout Queen Victoria's reign. Apart from an overture which often started these programmes, the music consisted mostly of songs, arias and small instrumental numbers. The majority of the pieces included by Schubert were Lieder. The 1850s saw the most performances of Schubert's music at these events, most notably 1853

[43] See Budds, *Queen Victoria*, 516-517, for more details regarding his categories. See Budds, *Queen Victoria*, 928ff for a full list of State Concerts giving full programme information. Appendix 4 contains details of Schubert's works in these performances.
[44] See Budds, *Queen Victoria*, 522-541, for more information on his groupings. In this period, Schubert's name is orientated towards songs, but with greater emphasis on choral singing, specifically the 'Shepherds' Chorus' from *Rosamunde*.

with a total of seven pieces performed. There is a considerable drop in the number of performances in the 1860s, again perhaps as a result of the death of Prince Albert.[45]

Music became central to Queen Victoria's and Prince Albert's family life, serving as both public and private entertainment. The elder royal children were present when their parents and attendants sang and played. This contributed to the general perception of the wholesomeness of music-making in domestic life, because these events were frequently reported in the press.[46] In discussing the Royal Music Library, A. Hyatt King notes that Queen Victoria's 'personal music reflect[s] her love of playing the piano, both solo and in duets, principally Schubert and Beethoven'.[47] Indeed, the lengthy list of music by Schubert held by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert supports this claim.[48] Much of this music in the Royal Library, of course, could have been given as a gift and there is no evidence from the actual music that it was played from by the royal family. Nevertheless, there are over two hundred scores in their Schubert collection, of which all are those that could be played in the home, suggesting that this was quite likely the case. The Lieder come in a variety of languages including French, English and the original German. The majority of publications came from Vienna, with those from London largely published by Chappell & Co. Unsurprisingly, the dates on these stem mostly from the 1850s and 1860s. The scores published by Chappell & Co are a combination of songs (with words mostly in English) and marches; many of the marches are arranged by Hallé as duets for four hands. This large collection of Schubert's domestic music in their music library demonstrates the emphasis the royals placed upon drawing-room music as a focal point for family values (despite the tragic stories Schubert's Lieder often portrayed). Not only did the Queen act as a role model when on display, but she and her family were regarded as the 'happy, comfortable, inward-looking family' and were seen to be 'the condition to which all [...] aspired'.[49] Indeed, at least to some extent, the royal family represented the values of the Biedermeier period with their focus on domestic life.

---

[45] Appendix 5 details his works that were played at these events. See Budds, *Queen Victoria*, 1038ff, for a full list of the Command Performances giving full programme information.

[46] See Budds, *Queen Victoria*, 158. In 1861, the status of music and musicians in English society was very different as compared to 1837. Although we cannot solely credit the royal family for this change, they led through example; see Budds, *Queen Victoria*, 7. For more on musicians in this period see A.V. Beedell, *The Decline of the English Musician, 1788-1888: A Family of English Musicians in Ireland, England, Mauritius, and Australia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) and Deborah Rohr, *The Careers and Social Status of British Musicians, 1750-1850; A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[47] A. Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music* (1963|R Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 111.

[48] See Appendix 6.

[49] Derek Carew, 'Victorian Attitudes to Chopin', *The Cambridge Companion to Chopin*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 223.

Considering that Schubert's reception in England was quite limited, it is striking that his Lieder should play such a role in these concerts during Prince Albert's lifetime. The Prince's nationality can possibly account for Schubert's inclusion. The aforementioned occasional concerts of the Queen and Prince and the publications of Schubert's songs (in transcriptions for pianoforte solo as well as the intended, original format) and dance music (Appendix 1) indicate the strong domestic role that Schubert's music played in the nineteenth century.

4. GENDER AND SCHUBERT'S MUSIC

There were specific views as to the role music played in the lives of men and women and the view of acceptable instruments for the sexes varied in early nineteenth-century England. At the beginning of the century, only the pianoforte and the voice were thought suitable for females.[50] Mary Burgan described how the piano became extremely significant in the lives of middle-class girls and women. As an emblem of social status, it signified social climbing, security of status, or, vice versa, even loss of position in higher society. It was a gauge of a woman's training and it provided an outlet for expression.[51] One nineteenth-century writer commented:

> that poor lonely little sorrower, hardly more than a child, who sits dreaming at her piano, while her fingers, caressing the deliciously cool ivory keys, glide through a weird nocturno of Chopin, is playing no mere study or set piece. Ah, what heavy burden seems lifted up, and borne away in the dusk? [...] The angel of music has come down; she has poured into his ear the tale which she will confide to no one else, and the 'restless, unsatisfied longing' has passed. [...] That domestic and long-suffering instrument, the cottage piano, has probably done more to [...] bring peace and happiness to families

[50] With specific reference to England, see Richard Leppert, 'The Male at Music: Praxis, Representation and the Problematic of Identity' and 'The Female at Music: Praxis, Representation and the Problematic of Identity', in *Music and Image*, 107-146 and 147-157 respectively. I would also add the harp to the list of instruments suitable for females. Although the piano and voice remained a woman's principal instruments, by the 1880s and 1890s, the violin became very fashionable. By the end of the century a greater number of women also played the cello, double bass, flute, and clarinet, although not without detractors; see Paula Gillett, *Musical Women in England, 1870-1914: 'Encroaching on All Man's Privileges'* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000), 4 and 29.

[51] Through their stories, countless Victorian authors remarked on the role of the pianoforte. See, for example, Jane Austen's *Emma* where Jane Fairfax's existence is greatly improved through the gift of a pianoforte. Amelia Sedley, from William Makepeace Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, received her piano back after it had been sold at auction for economic reasons. In George Eliot's *Middlemarch*, Rosamond Vincy was greatly hindered in climbing the social ladder without a piano. See Mary Burgan, 'Heroines at the Piano: Women and Music in Nineteenth-Century Fiction', *The Lost Chord: Essays on Victorian Music*, ed. Nicholas Temperley (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 42-43.

> in general, and to young women in particular, than all the homilies on the domestic virtues ever yet penned.[52]

It has been shown that Chopin's works, both in their original and simplified versions, featured prominently in this setting and that his reputation suffered as a result of this close association with female domestic music making.[53] Similarly with Schubert, his known repertoire at this point provided a solid link to suitable music for women. As can be seen in the documents in Appendix 2, performances of his works largely consisted of Lieder with a scattering of piano and dance music, but no piano sonatas. Although the documents in this appendix show a great number of male performers who, compared with women, were more likely to perform for monetary gain, it is important to remember that this table does not include domestic music performances. Details of publications in Appendix 1, however, indicate the strong role Schubert's music had in a domestic setting in that it was music suitable for the home that was the focus of the publications.

Double standards prevailed. Whilst it was important for girls to learn the piano, they were not to gain mastery.[54] Music's role was for 'admission to fashionable company',[55] increasing a girl's chance at marriage and as a resource against ennui.[56]

---

[52] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 103-104. See Solie, *Music in Other Words*, 116 for a brief analysis of this quotation.

[53] Chopin's role in domestic music making was particularly noticed by Charles Hallé who said that he was the 'property of every schoolgirl.' Haweis specifically recommended Chopin for therapeutic use and the composer was used for this purpose by Lady Harrison throughout Lousie Mack's novel, *The Music Makers* (London: Mills & Boon, 1914). Gillett explained how American critic James Huneker and Arthur Rubinstein attempted to '"rescue" Chopin from the taint of the devalorized feminine'; see Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, 5. For Huneker and Rubinstein's role in Chopin's later reception, see Jeffrey Kallberg, *Sex, History, and Musical Genre* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1998), 42-45.

[54] This continued through at least the 1860s, when higher-class music normally referred to music of the Austro-German tradition (often called classical music) was not the kind of music associated with female accomplishments, but rather serious 'man's music'. In fact, women should only play 'a little bit' of Beethoven or Haydn (probably sonatas) in order to educate the ears of their fathers and brothers. Consequently, much of the classical music of the calibre of Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven, would have been beyond the abilities of a typical Victorian bourgeois woman due to the lack of quality practice time and so they would have only been able to play a small amount, if any; see Derek B. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 211; John Rink, 'The Profession of Music', *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 55-86; and Derek Carew, 'The Consumption of Music', *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 237-258.

[55] Maria Edgewood, 'Female Accomplishments, Masters, and Governesses', *Practical Education* (Boston: Wait, 1815), 110-111, cited in Burgan, 'Heroines at the Piano', 51. Burgan also gives Mary Bennet's character in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* as an example of how music could be a strong part of a woman's dowry and public identity. Edgewood urged mothers to resist the temptation to turn daughters into a musical 'automaton for eight hours in every day for fifteen years, for the promise of hearing her, at the end of that time, pronounced the first private performer at the most fashionable and most crowded concert in London.'

There was also a moral role to female domestic piano playing as it served as a 'combination of spiritual therapy and mental hygiene' for the entire family, but especially for the father who spent his day at work and for her brothers who endlessly faced temptations.[57] That men were sometimes seen to sing was in 'high favour', but piano playing was undoubtedly scorned, being suitable only for women and professionals.[58] English composer and music teacher, John Hullah (1812-1884) reminisced over a piano recital given by a male for the first time in Oxford in the first half of the century and was 'greeted with derisive hisses'.[59] By contrast, most professional pianists were male. James T. Lightwood remarked that in the mid-nineteenth century it was not considered 'the correct thing for a gentleman to play the piano, though it might be all very well for the lower classes and the music teacher. Consequently we read of few male performers on the instrument'.[60] Thus the term 'amateur' was automatically attached to a musician of high social standing – both male and female. Only a small portion of Schubert's then known œuvre was aimed at the male performer, yet much of it was appropriate for females. Appendix 1 is occasionally able to detail the vocal register for which works were written/adapted for and when they do it is most common to see 'for high voice' as in Wessel & Co's 1840 publications of 'Hark, hark the lark' ('Ständchen') and 'Flow'rets blooming, winds perfuming' ('Lob der Tränen'). On other occasions publishers provided this information by adding 'as sung by' as in the case of Addison & Hodson's 1845 publication of 'Hark, hark the lark' which was 'as sung by Adelaide Kemble' (1815-

[56] On marriage, see Solie, *Music in Other Words*, 90 and 114. See Jeanice Brooks' article on Tatton Park's music library which illustrates how the activities and interests of women in domestic settings influenced musical heritage. In particular, it demonstrates music score use and collecting by Elizabeth Sykes Eggerton at the turn of the nineteenth century and in turn how this interest was aided by and how it affected domestic architecture; Jeanice Brooks, 'Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection, and Display at Tatton Park', *Music & Letters*, Vol. 91, No. 4 (November 2010), 513-535.

[57] Solie, *Music in Other Words*, 94-96. See also Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 190; and Delia da Sousa Correa, *George Eliot, Music and Victorian Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 67-76.

[58] Burgan, 'Heroines at the Piano', 50.

[59] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 188, who cites John Hullah, *Music in the House* (London: Macmillan, 1877), 30.

[60] James T. Lightwood, *Charles Dickens and Music* (New York: Haskell House, 1970), 33, cited in Burgan, 'Heroines at the Piano', 50-51.

1879), who was a prominent English operatic singer. Clearly the names of popular performers aided in selling the works.[61]

That a man's music should be intellectual becomes key in Schubert's reception. In support for differentiation of the sexes in music, contemporary writer and composer Thomas Danvers Worgan (1774-1832) argued that:

> any [...] musical instrument, placed in the hands of an adult, is tantamount to a whistle or a penny trumpet; and the genius of a musical composition is a dead letter to him who takes up music merely as an accomplishment. Such effeminate trifling is a disgrace to those who ought to give the lead to that sex [female] from whom they commonly take it. I do not mean to say that music is not a proper accomplishment for a gentleman [...] but I contend that, in men, it ought to be an elegant superstructure, founded on the basis of intellect.[62]

The nineteenth century's conviction of music's appropriateness (or lack thereof) for the different genders extended to individual musical genres and this belief directly determines the hierarchy of musical activities in which composing long held a superior rank to performing, because music for men was only considered suitable if intellectual.[63] Men's music was expected to be technically advanced and to demonstrate intellectual mastery as it should be achieved through arduous work.[64] The drawing-room ballad, for example, performed in a domestic setting, generally implied a simpler, easier musical style. As such, it was most suited for the amateur singer (the majority of which were female). Change did occur: one author noted in the 1860s that 'a very false principle has, until lately, kept our men from all the softer portion of life; manliness was identified with roughness, and every accomplishment which was suitable to a woman, was considered beneath the dignity of a man. [...] Fortunately it is now agreed that manliness and refinement are not opposed to one another'.[65] Yet this was not the opinion of all, and even in 1889 'prejudice' remained against the music profession. The article 'Manliness in Music' appearing in the *Musical Times* claimed that many believed the study of music

[61] Yet other marketing methods, which were aimed for women, included publishers writing inscriptions that explicitly said 'to the ladies' or 'to the fair sex'; see Solie, *Music in Other Words*, 89. Other marketing strategies included the naming of fashionable theatres and clams that the piece received generous applause; see Brooks, 'Musical Monuments for the Country House', 523. England was not the only country whose audiences saw Schubert's music as suitable for female performers (both professional and amateur); see Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 11.

[62] Thomas Danvers Worgan, *The Musical Reformer* (London: S. Maunder, 1829), 35.

[63] See Leppert, *Music and Image*, 135.

[64] Gramit, 'Constructing a Victorian Schubert', 69. See also Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help; with Illustrations of Character and Conduct* (London: 1859|R Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1861), 174-175. This was a very popular book.

[65] Jane Aster, *The Habits of Good Society: A Handbook for Ladies and Gentlemen...from the Last London Edition* (New York: Carleton, 1867), 240.

was only done by those who were weak or effeminate. The author argued that this idea was founded on limited knowledge obtained from gossip or based on a few select musicians.[66] Female composers were often 'marginalized' and 'restricted' to the straightforward designs of the folk song in line with the prejudice that 'difficult thoughts were man's sphere'.[67] Complexity, gained only through hard work, was a demonstration of skill and education, and was much valued in nineteenth-century England. Thus, symphonies and operas ranked as the highest genres of music.

Although Schubert's songs are now considered within the category of art song, in our period this label did not exist and upon my examination of programmes from the early part of the century, there do not appear to be many performances of this type of music. Most vocal music that was performed appears to have been from oratorios and operas. That art songs were not frequently performed is not surprising given that songs first had their place in the domestic and amateur music-making scene. Their migration to public, professional concerts was not a linear transition.[68] Thus Schubert's songs receive a wide range of comments. Of the song 'Anguish',[69] the *Musical World* commented on its 'novel process of modulation' and its motion of the bass and melody.[70] Regarding 'The Erl-King', the *Harmonicon* claimed that it will be 'highly satisfactory to real critics, though it may possess no charms for the mere lovers of sing-song'.[71] Although the author takes a superior tone and essentially claims that he himself (assuming a masculine identity) is a '*real* critic', the use of 'mere' confirms the superior ranking of this song. However, it was not uncommon for Schubert's songs to receive praise such as: 'an elegant melody',[72] 'charming'[73] and 'beautiful'[74] – positive reactions, but nonetheless, utilizing words also appropriate for lower-ranked songs, which were often written by

[66] Anon., 'Manliness in Music', *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 30, No. 558 (1 August 1889), 460-461. See also the follow-up letter: Lennox Amott, 'Manliness in Music', *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 30, No. 560 (1 October 1889), 620.
[67] Scott, 'The Sexual Politics', 91-92.
[68] Laura Tunbridge, *The Song Cycle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 40. Secondary literature on composers such as Robert Schumann says surprisingly little about art song in England and, more specifically, his song reception in this country. Even early accounts such as Wilhelm Joseph Wasielewski's *The Life of Robert Schumann* which was originally written in 1853 and translated into English in 1871 does not contain any reception study; Wilhelm Joseph Wasielewski, *The Life of Robert Schumann*, trans. A. L. Alger (Boston: Oliver Ditson Company, 1871).
[69] Songs in this period were often published under different names in translation. This one is most likely 'Aufenthalt'.
[70] *Musical World*, 12 March 1840.
[71] *Harmonicon*, Vol. 10 (1832), 280.
[72] *Satirist or the Censor of the Times*, 12 May 1839.
[73] *Musical World*, 15 October 1840.
[74] *Morning Chronicle*, 7 November 1846.

women. Yet some writers did recognize that there was a difference in Schubert's Lieder as in the case of this author:

> The celebrated Schubert may be regarded as the creator of a new species of compositions, in which the vocal and the instrumental are so blended, that it is often difficult to say which of the two predominates; and in which the instrumental portion, instead of being a mere accompaniment to the voice, is not less essential than the vocal part (and sometimes even more) in completing the design of the composer. With this combination we have long been acquainted in the dramatic scene and the cantata; but Schubert was the first who applied it to the popular song or ballad.[75]

The accompaniment was commented on several times. Writing of Schubert's songs: 'They were at first only appreciated by the few, but now they were beginning to be understood and enjoyed by all; they came from the heart, and the heart in return would respond to their influence. [...] Schubert's songs [...] were characterised by a rich and elaborate accompaniment, every note of which claimed its value. Their melodies stood out, and gave life, feeling, and beauty to the rich background which supported them.'[76] Again, by perhaps the same author, the accompaniment is noted as having 'rich harmony with the emphatic expression of particular words and sentences'.[77] These quotations demonstrate that Schubert's songs were generally compared with English ballads and folk songs whose accompaniment was different (as for example Callcott's version of 'Erlkönig'). Indeed, the parlour ballad could be stereotyped by arpeggiations and 'simplistic' harmonies.[78] Consequently it seems audiences had to come to terms with the different composition style as demonstrated with the previous quotation. Another writer argued that Schubert's songs, amongst others, required a 'degree of cultivation necessary for its appreciation.'[79] With its positive tone, it seems this author believed in higher music appreciation. Even with this requirement, as is clear from the documents in Appendix 2, the growing number of performances through the 1840s demonstrates an increasing demand for Schubert's songs. The documents in Appendix 1 further demonstrate the popularity of his Lieder along with his dance music. Indeed throughout this chapter there has been a common theme among critics – that of Schubert's accompaniment. And as can be seen, Schubert's songs grew in popularity, regardless of this feature which differed

[75] *Morning Chronicle*, 25 November 1845.
[76] *Musical Times*, 4 March 1848.
[77] *Musical Times*, 28 October 1848.
[78] Julian Onderdonk, 'Folksong Arrangements, Hymn Tunes and Church Music', *The Cambridge Companion to Vaughn Williams*, ed. Alain Frogley and Aidan J. Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 143.
[79] *Musical Times*, 30 January 1849.

from indigenous parlour song.[80] Throughout this growing popularity, however, critics seemingly maintained their overall argument of native music over Schubert and other 'serious' song compositions and the argument never seems to be made for indigenous composers to write more like those on the continent.

Schubert's appropriateness for the female sex continued throughout the century. In a letter to his mother describing the musical influence his wife had on the family, the poet Matthew Arnold (1822-1888) revealed how the children spend the 'afternoon at the piano making things of Schubert's. [...] It is a great thing for them.'[81] Noteworthy is that the children's choice of music stemmed from their mother. Although English author George Gissing (1857-1903) claimed that if he were able to perform, Beethoven would be the composer of choice, his advice to his sister in 1885 was to sing Schubert's 'Das Fischermädchen'.[82] Both examples here confirm the close association of Schubert with domestic music making, albeit later in the century.

The vocal and dance music for the pianoforte that Schubert was predominantly known for targeted mostly female performers since these genres were perceived to be appropriate for women. Consequently, Schubert's higher art forms of instrumental and orchestral music struggled to gain performances despite the high praise for his vocal writing. This difficulty can be demonstrated by the aforementioned reviews of the *Fierrabras* Overture by the *Examiner* and *John Bull* (both published on 15 June 1844) and by critic James William Davison who considered it

> beneath criticism. At the rehearsal we took it for an overture by Prince Albert, but on being told that Schubert was the composer we were not greatly surprised. Perhaps a more overrated man never existed that this same Schubert. He has certainly written a few good songs. But what then? Has not every composer that ever composed written a few good songs?[83]

The first impression of the piece was that it was by an amateur. For Davison, song composing was not perceived as a difficult skill as demonstrated by his question, 'Has

[80] The French 'romance' was also overtaken, though not without argument, by Schubert's Lieder; see David Tunley, *Salons, Singers and Songs: A Background to Romantic French Song, 1830-1870* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002),89-101 and William Cheng, 'Hearts for Sale: The French Romance and the Sexual Traffic of Musical Mimicry, *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Summer 2011), 34-71.
[81] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 190-191, who cites Matthew Arnold, *The Letters of Matthew Arnold,* Vol. 6, ed. Cecil Y. Lang, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001), 460. The letter is dated 19 December 1870.
[82] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 190, who cites George Gissing, *The Collected Letters of George Gissing*, Vol. 2, ed. Paul F. Mattheisen, Arthur C. Young and Pierre Coustillas (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1990-1997), 203-353.
[83] James William Davidson, 'Sixth Philharmonic Concert', *Musical World*, Vol. 19, No. 24 (13 June 1844), 197.

not every composer that every composed written a few good songs?', and therefore this skill did not automatically transfer to instrumental composition. Thus, Davison did not have high expectations for any non-vocal work by Schubert. Yet Davison was not a proponent of new music, which of course this piece seemed to be and he was also a supporter of native music.[84] Thus, it was in Davison's interest to dismiss this work. Nevertheless, it was not uncommon for an instrumental work by Schubert, in this case the Overture to *Fierrabras*, to receive the criticism 'that it is written without unity of design, and is a dry, dull collection of unrelated passages'.[85] These critiques demonstrate the difficulty for a song composer to transfer their reputation to other genres.

Chopin, largely known in this period for his short piano works ideal for domestic settings, such as the nocturne, received similar evaluations in England. One critic found his concertos and sonatas (the larger compositions within his œuvre) 'apt to become vague and vaporous'.[86] Yet another complained that although Chopin was never lacking in ideas, they did not amount to much more than 'eight or sixteen bars' and that he exhibited an 'utter ignorance of design everywhere [...] in his lengthened works'.[87] Other reviews frequently commented on his 'elegant, refined and aristocratic' melodic beauty which, in nineteenth-century vocabulary, implied feminine qualities, with all of its negative connotations.[88] Thus, Chopin's and Schubert's reception histories were subjected to the same prejudices.[89]

That Schubert was not originally known for larger instrumental works in sonata forms was detrimental to his reception especially considering that the song genre, which was 'associated with private performance [...], lacked the prestige of symphony or opera.'[90] The second half of the eighteenth century saw the rise of the sonata form to the most prestigious of musical forms. According to Marcia J. Citron, 'compositions deemed the highest and the most revealing of skill and imagination, especially the symphony,

---

[84] J.W. Davison, *Music During the Victorian Era From Mendelssohn to Wagner; Being the Memoirs of J. W. Davison Forty Years Music Critic of 'The Times'*, ed. Henry Davison (London: WM. Reeves, 1912), 141.
[85] *Examiner*, 15 June 1844.
[86] Anon., 'Frederic Chopin,' *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 33 (January 1850), 101.
[87] Anon., 'Souvenir de la Pologne. Seventh set of Mazurkas. Frederic Chopin', *Musical World*, Vol. 16, No. 292 (28 October 1841), 276.
[88] Carew, 'Victorian attitudes to Chopin', 227.
[89] See Andreas Ballstaedt, 'Chopin as "Salon Composer" in Nineteenth-Century German Criticism', *The Cambridge Companion to Chopin*, ed. Jim Samson, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 18-34, which explores similar gender-related themes in respect of Chopin's reception in nineteenth-century Germany. See also Jim Samson, 'Chopin Reception: Theory, History, Analysis', *Chopin Studies 2*, ed. John Rink and Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 9-11, which details the outcome of the influence of domestic music making and its religious and social values on Chopin's reception at the end of the nineteenth century.
[90] Gramit, 'Constructing a Victorian Schubert', 67.

have been based on the sonata aesthetic and in turn have become the concrete embodiments of that aesthetic.'[91] Beethoven's imprint left the sonata as the 'vehicle of the sublime'; proof of greatness was the sonata, and only through this form could the 'highest musical ambitions be realized'.[92] Whilst Schubert was Beethoven's contemporary, in England his sonatas and symphonies were only heard from 1850 onwards, but for many symphonies it was not until the late 1860s and 1870s that they received performances (see Appendix 9). As such, Schubert was held to the same criteria as younger composers, who were all compared to Beethoven. Furthermore, as Messing argued, 'if certain genres of music [were] popularly associated with Schubert [i.e. Lieder and dance music], they might also be construed as alien to the Beethovian style for the same reason.'[93] Thus the time lag between compositional date and publication date resulted in a different set of parameters by which to judge his music.

Gendered language was frequently used to describe Schubert and his music. Schumann's famous critique of Schubert's Grand Duo for Pianoforte (D182), Op. 140, first appeared in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 8 in 1838,[94] then in an English translation in 1865,[95] and finally also in his *Music and Musicians* in 1876.[96] Schumann was the first major critic to articulate a gendered classification of Schubert and Beethoven. Although this article is well known to Schubert scholars, it is important for us to briefly examine it here due to the image it created of our composer. The essay on the Symphony in C major contains the now famous, or perhaps infamous, quotation:

> Schubert is a more feminine character [ein Mädchencharakter] compared to the other [Beethoven]; far more loquacious, softer, broader; compared to Beethoven he is a child, sporting happily among the giants. Such is the relation these symphonic movements bear to those of Beethoven, and, in their inwardness, they could not have been conceived by any other than Schubert. To be sure, he brings in his powerful passages, and works in masses; and still he is more feminine than masculine, for he pleads and persuades where the man commands. But all this merely in comparison with

[91] Marcia J. Citron, 'Feminist Approaches to Musicology', *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music*, ed. Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 17-18.
[92] Charles Rosen, *Sonata Forms* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1988), 366.
[93] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 11.
[94] *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 8 (1838), 177-79
[95] See *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser*, 11 October 1865. This critique was also printed in *Shilling Magazine Illustrated: A miscellany of literature, social science, etc*, Vol. 4 (1866).
[96] Robert Schumann, *Music and Musicians*, trans. Fanny Raymond Ritter (London: William Reeves, 1876). This was then reprinted in 1877 and 1878.

> Beethoven; compared to others, he is masculine; indeed, the boldest and most freethinking among the newer musicians.[97]

This passage can also be found in several nineteenth-century German books published in translation in England, including Joseph Schlüter's *A General History of Music* and Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn's *The Life of Franz Schubert*.[98] Whilst Schumann did not take the comparison any further, it was reinforced by subsequent discussions of the two composers. Schumann's influence in England is apparent in contemporary journals. One writer wrote that Schubert was 'a far finer lyrical musician, and Beethoven a stronger, loftier, more coherent instrumental composer',[99] whilst another wrote about 'the grandeur and elevated sublimity of one [Beethoven], and the tender dreamy fancy of the other [Schubert].'[100] Whilst not explicit, both implied that Schubert was more feminine than Beethoven.

Schumann's gendered juxtaposition of the two composers especially influenced the writer Frederick Niecks, who (born in Düsseldorf on 3 February 1845) was training to be a violinist when poor health in his teenage years turned him to teaching. Emigrating to Scotland in 1868, he played viola in a quartet and was an organist and teacher in Dumfries. Following a letter in 1875 to the *Monthly Musical Record*, he became permanently engaged by them and in 1879 became a regular contributor to the *Musical Times*. He was appointed Reid Professor of Music at Edinburgh University in 1891 and wrote a biography of Chopin (1888) and Robert Schumann (posthumously published in 1925) which were 'long considered classics in their subject areas'. He died in 1924 in Edinburgh.[101] Niecks' series of articles, titled 'Franz Schubert: A study', appeared over several issues in the *Monthly Musical Record.* According to Messing, 'it was the most extensive consideration of Schubert's music in English up to that time.'[102] It surveyed the main compositions and, through these, attempted to gain insight into the composer's

---

[97] Robert Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, ed. Konrad Wolff, trans. Paul Rosenfeld (London: Dennis Dobson, 1956), 117.
[98] Joseph Schlüter, *A General History of Music*, trans. Mrs Robert Tubbs (London: Richard Bentley, 1865).
[99] *Leeds Mercury*, 20 February 1866.
[100] *Daily News*, 4 December 1866.
[101] Robin H. Legge and Duncan J. Barker, 'Niecks, Friedrich [Frederick].' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/19917 (accessed 20 August 2010).
[102] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 192.

personality.[103] It is unclear whether he would have read Schumann's original German version or the translation.[104] Writing in 1877, he believed that Schumann gave the most 'valuable hints for the right understanding and appreciation of our composer' when he compared Schubert to Beethoven as a 'woman to a man'.[105] This was, according to Niecks, given verification from scientists when the two composers' bodies were exhumed and studied. Doctors articulated their 'astonishment at the delicate, almost womanly organisation of his skull'.[106] Niecks supposed that Schumann was 'afraid of being misunderstood' and for that reason had added that Schubert could be called feminine only in respect to Beethoven. In contrast, Niecks extended this metaphor. Women lacked 'sustained strength and wide-reaching comprehensive thought. [...] Now what Schubert is wanting in is just this sustained strength and comprehensive thought'.[107] For Niecks, 'the music was almost a literal incarnation of the body.'[108] Furthermore Schubert had many characteristics that were traditionally associated with female authors, such as

> fine sensitiveness, delicacy of feeling, ready sympathy, acute observation [...] occasional outbursts of power, short glimpses of far-reaching vision, and, along with this, a languid dreaming, a complaisant dwelling on the comparatively unimportant, frequent digressions [...] a losing sight of the whole over the details.[109]

However, these traits were only a resemblance, and Schubert was sufficiently manly to be distinguished from a woman, which Messing argues was because the author was worried that readers may 'misconstrue his analogy – perhaps to the extent that feminine characteristics of musical style might perilously leech their way into an estimation of the

[103] Schumann's gendered critique also influenced George Grove in his *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (see Chapter V for an in depth look at this writing) who, in his comparisons of Beethoven and Schubert, explicitly wrote 'another equally true saying of Schumann's is that, compared with Beethoven, Schubert is as a woman to a man. For it must be confessed that one's attitude towards him is almost always that of sympathy, attraction, and love, rarely that of embarrassment or fear. Here and there only, as in the Rosamunde B minor Entracte, or the Finale of the 10th Symphony [9th Symphony in C Major], does he compel his hearers with an irresistible power; and yet how different is this compulsion from the strong, fierce, merciless coercion, with which Beethoven forces you along, and bows and bends you to his will, in the Finale of the 8th or still more that of the 7th Symphony'; see Sir George Grove, 'Schubert', *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A.D. 1450-1883) By Eminent Writers, English and Foreign with Illustrations and Woodcuts in Four Volumes, Vol. 3*, ed. Sir George Grove (London: Macmillan and Co., 1879, 1880, 1883, 1889), 364.
[104] See *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser*, 11 October 1865.
[105] Frederick Niecks, 'Franz Schubert: A Study', *Monthly Musical Record*, Vol. 7 (1877), 4.
[106] Niecks, 'Franz Schubert', 4. Niecks, in fact, quoted almost verbatim Kreissle, *The Life of Franz Schubert, Vol. 2*, 152.
[107] Niecks, 'Franz Schubert', 18.
[108] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 193.
[109] Niecks, 'Franz Schubert', 19.

man.'[110] In short, Schubert's masculinity was strong enough to allow him to rise above female levels of achievement, but he could not develop and sustain the power of his thoughts to the level of Beethoven. Perhaps this was the reason that Niecks took George Grove 'to task for the indiscriminate enthusiasm that resulted in the performance of all of the composer's symphonies'.[111] Noteworthy indeed is that Niecks chose the symphonic genre to harp upon – a genre which in this period was closely associated with the strength and grandeur of Beethoven's works. Regardless, Niecks concluded that the best word to describe Schubert's form was 'feminine'.[112] Since he was a prominent writer for the major music journal, the *Monthly Musical Record*, Niecks' writings on Schubert were read by many in the music community, and as such his propagation of a feminine Schubert is of great importance to Schubert's reception history in England.

Being a German speaker, Niecks may also have been influenced by Gerhard von Breuning (1813-1892), the son of Beethoven's friend Stephen von Breuning. In 1874 he published reminiscences of Beethoven and, having been at the exhumation, he commented that 'it was extremely interesting physiologically to compare the compact thickness of Beethoven's skull and the fine, almost feminine thinness of Schubert's, and to relate them, almost directly, to the character of their music.'[113] This avenue of enquiry has more recently turned into sexuality and biographical associations. In 1997, Philip Brett argued that Schubert's four-hand piano works, specifically the second movement of the Sonata in C major (D812) ('Grand Duo'), demonstrated Schubert's homosexuality through his music.[114] Christopher Wiley contended that Brett's claim has a wider basis in the Beethoven/Schubert mythology because the piano duet is repeatedly encountered in commentary surrounding the two composers. For example, Schumann's essay previously mentioned discussed the 'Grand Duo' and that Beethoven and Schubert reportedly

[110] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 193.
[111] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 181. See Appendix 9 for the dates of these performances at the Crystal Palace which was run by George Grove.
[112] Niecks, 'Franz Schubert', 149.
[113] See Gerhard von Breuning, *Memories of Beethoven: From the House of the Black-Robed Spaniards*, ed. Maynard Solomon, trans. Henry Mins and Maynard Solomon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 116, cited in Christopher H. Gibbs, '"Poor Schubert": Images and Legends of the Composer', *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 51.
[114] See Philip Brett, 'Piano Four-Hands: Schubert and the Performance of Gay Male Desire', *19th-Century Music*, XXI/ii (1997), 149-176, cited in Christopher Mark Wiley, *Re-Writing Composers' Lives: Critical Historiography and Musical Biography* (London: 2008) Ph.D. Thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 337.

became familiar with each other's works through this genre.[115] Perhaps most strikingly, Schubert's Variations on a French Air, Op. 10, which were dedicated to Beethoven, were written for four-hand piano. Wiley writes that 'the question remains as to why, if such works can be said to represent the younger composer's sexual difference through music, [was] this one [...] dedicated to the very person held to embody the (heterosexual) masculine norm.'[116] Thus, it is evident that the Victorian gender juxtaposition of the two composers is part of a larger mythology which originated earlier on the Continent and which extends into more recent musicology.

According to Derek B. Scott, Niecks' statement, as previously quoted and which compared Schubert's characteristics to female authors, has some observable similarities to Edmund Burke's eighteenth-century concept of the beautiful: Niecks' '"Delicacy of feeling" accords with Burke's statement that "beauty should be light and delicate"; and the "acute observation – especially of little things that are nearest and dearest" would fit in well with Burke's idea that, compared to the sublime, beautiful objects are small and "beauty should not be obscure".'[117] The 'beautiful' coincides with nineteenth-century views of 'femininity' and the 'sublime' with 'masculinity'. Paula Gillett links Niecks' theory with Immanuel Kant's beliefs about women's talents, and argued that as a student of aesthetics, Niecks would have been familiar with Kant (and Burke).[118] Kant saw women as being incapable of 'deep meditation', 'long-sustained reflection', and 'laborious learning'. Furthermore, 'a woman's "sensitiveness and delicacy" might well qualify her to succeed in some musical styles and genres, but these would be predefined as representing the less ambitious genres'.[119] Schubert was known at this time only for these 'less ambitious genres' – song and dance music – and so his connection to the feminine was made even stronger. The metaphors of Schumann and other writers in the first half of the nineteenth century 'solidified' into 'biological truths' (of which Niecks' writing is representative) becoming tangled with psychological and physiological theories about women's minds and bodies which had a direct impact on women composers.[120] They were expected to express their femininity in music which served as evidence of femininity in

[115] Wiley, *Re-Writing*, 337. Schubert used to practice Beethoven's symphonies as four-hand piano duets and Beethoven played Schubert's Variations on a French Air, Op. 10, with his nephew; see Wiley, *Re-Writing*, 338. For other examples of the reoccurring theme of the piano duet, see Wiley, *Re-Writing*, 338.
[116] Wiley, *Re-Writing*, 338.
[117] Scott, 'The Sexual Politics', 100; and Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1757), 70-71.
[118] See Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, 20.
[119] Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, 20-21. She quotes from Immanuel Kant, *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime*, trans. John T. Goldthwait (1764|R Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), Sect. 3 (no page numbers given).
[120] Scott, 'The Sexual Politics', 95.

music. Since feminine qualities in music were accepted as proof of a feminine nature, their presence directly impinged on the reception of a male composer.

5. ENGLISH NATIONALISM AND SCHUBERT'S RECEPTION

Not only was Schubert's reception affected by issues surrounding supposed feminine qualities of his music, but also by the desire of many for music by English composers. Although slightly different from the ideology of musical nationalism, the link between the two became closer together over time. When journalists speak of a desire for English composers and performers, the tone is nationalistic and, thus, when the composers or the performers were English, it became a source of pride.

Journals from the 1840s frequently criticize the sheer lack of availability of indigenous English music in comparison to foreign music.[121] On 12 March 1840, the *Musical World* critically reviewed a book of German songs containing Schubert's 'Anguish' ('Aufenthalt')[122]:

> Why [...] should the first class vocal writing of England be virtually denied the advantage of public introduction which is unsparingly afforded to equivalent music of foreign growth? That we have composers who can, and occasionally do, coin thoughts and expressions surpassingly beautiful, even when linked in comparison with the brightest imaginings of Schubert or Weber, or Spohr, no one tolerably familiar with the labours of our native artists will attempt to deny; and yet who ever dreamed of stumbling on such a title page as "Gems of *English* Song?"[123]

The author assumed the reason was because the publication of English material would not be profitable. The opposite held true with a foreign product: 'it is sufficient for him that the music is *German*, and to press it goes'.[124] Schubert's name, amongst others, was thus linked to a general anti-German outburst. A few years later a publisher commented on the problem of the title page for *Six English Songs by Native Composers*: 'It being too often the case that *the name of a living English composer on the title-page of a song is injurious to its success*, the editor has published the above anonymously, preferring that they would stand or fall by their own merits'.[125] As we have seen previously in this

[121] See Langley, 'Sainsbury's Dictionary', 65.
[122] The book reviewed was *Gems of German Song by the most admired Composers, with Pianoforte Accompaniments. Book 7*. No further publication details were given.
[123] *Musical World*, 12 March 1840.
[124] *Musical World*, 12 March 1840. Italics original.
[125] *Daily News*, 10 August 1847. Italics original. There was also desire by critics for the artists to be English, leaving even the Queen open to criticism, see *Satirist or the Censor of the Times*, 23 May 1841; *Age*, 4 July 1841; and See Budds, *Queen Victoria*, 412.

chapter, English compositions were often accused of being influenced by German composers.[126] Thus the performance of Schubert's songs, in addition to those of other composers, also contributed to the dismay of writers regarding the lack of English music. On one hand Schubert's songs seemed to receive a degree of popularity. Yet on the other hand, there is clear evidence of annoyance among concert reviewers regarding the amount of non-English music performed and published, which undeniably affected the initial reception of Schubert (along with other non-English composers). This dislike, however, weakened in the late 1840s – the time that Schubert's music was becoming better known.[127]

Illustration 1: 'Foreign Concert Performers', *The London Saturday Journal*, 2 October 1841, 157.

It is important to note that there was a link between the foreign and feminine throughout the century. For the Victorian, 'the exaggerated motions of the gesturing and gesticulating bodies of conductors, and virtuosos, vastly exceeded the boundaries of contemporaneous notions of male decorum'.[128] Thus, for the Victorian, the effeminate qualities of the expression and the stance of the male singer in Illustration 1 indicated that this was a foreigner performing. Although there is not space within this study to delve

[126] See *John Bull*, 15 and 17 July 1853, and 25 and 27 November 1843.
[127] The support for nationalism as it pertained to the field of music did not end in this decade but the form of the argument changed as can be demonstrated in its application in Liszt's reception theory; see Widén, *Liszt and 'The Musical Times'*, 240-247.
[128] Richard Leppert, 'The Musician of the Imagination', *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 41. Some Victorians also saw the great foreign male virtuosos (Paganini, Mendelssohn, Liszt, and Rubinstein) as sexually demonic for women; see Burgan, 'Heroines at the Piano', 57-67.

into this topic fully, it is noteworthy that this link did not die out quickly and as late as 1897 authors were still commenting on the relationship.[129] Many of Schubert's initial promoters, most of whom were also performers, were foreigners (as we will see in detail in the following chapter), though there was no distinction drawn between protestant and catholic foreigners. Thus not only was there a strong link between the genres Schubert was known for composing and the feminine/effeminate, but also with the foreignness of the performers and their supposed feminine/effeminate qualities.

In this period, Schubert's known music was primarily songs, pianoforte pieces, which being ideal for the domestic setting, meant that he was closely linked to the female gender. His Lieder in performance at this time received varied praise, ranging from critics trivialising the works to those who appreciated the compositional language. The complaints about his instrumental music, first seen on 10 June 1844 with the performance of the Overture to *Fierrabras*, continued throughout the century and grew out of prejudices of gender, compositional abilities and genres. For some, Schubert the 'song composer' and the prejudices that came with this genre, meant that his image could not translate into Schubert the 'instrumental composer'. That technical and intellectual mastery formed part of Schubert's craft, was only realised in the ensuing decades and this meant Schubert as 'instrumental composer' could excel where the 'song composer' could not. Only after a much longer debate would it be accepted that his music had been created through hard work. Indeed, through the ensuing chapters, a multifaceted Schubert will emerge.

[129] See Gramit, 'Constructing a Victorian Schubert', 69. There is a long tradition of foreignness being the source of effeminacy in English musical tradition; in addition to Leppert and Burgan cited above, see Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 19; and Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance1840-1940; Constructing a National Music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 4-5. For a later discussion see Erik Levi, '"Those Damn Foreigners": Xenophobia and British Musical Life During the First Half of the Twentieth Century', *Twentieth-Century Music and Politics: Essays in Memory of Neil Edmunds*, ed. Pauline Fairclough (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 81-96.

CHAPTER II: THE TRANSFORMATION OF SCHUBERT'S IMAGE FROM 'SONG COMPOSER' TO 'SONG AND INSTRUMENTAL COMPOSER' (1850-C.1865)

By the close of the 1840s Schubert, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, was mostly known as a 'song composer'. The next decade and a half witnesses an exponential increase of concerts containing Schubert's music – not just vocal but also a large number of his instrumental works. The reception of these works was often set against the backdrop of Schubert the 'song composer' by contemporary critics. The publications of Schubert's works in this period also increased and included a wider variety of pieces. Concert reviews, performers and music societies were pivotal to this transition. Yet as will be demonstrated, performance practices also had an effect on Schubert's reception.

1. PERFORMANCES AND PUBLICATIONS OF SCHUBERT'S MUSIC

Appendices 2 and 3 illustrate an increase in concerts containing Schubert's music in this second period. Generally the growth of music concerts in the nineteenth century was comparatively slow, but with the increasing political problems on the Continent,[1] many performers travelled to England. Additionally, the essentially free market of London's (and England's) music scene was an attraction for performers. London operated in an unrestricted market where anyone could produce a concert if two requirements were observed: one – between 1752 and 1843 matinees had to be licensed; and two – there was a general ban on Sunday concerts until the 1890s. There was no further government control but also no financial subsidy whatsoever. Furthermore, there was no court influence or centralized patronage as was found in most other European cities.[2] Moreover, the growth in Schubert's performances historically correlates to the growing admiration audiences of the second half of the century had for past composers. For example, between 1817 and 1826, 43% of the music by the Philharmonic Society was by

[1] In 1848, just two years preceding the focus of this chapter, much of Europe underwent a series of revolutions. The Austro-Sardinian War of 1848-1849 included various states of what is in the present day Italy and Austria. The revolution in Paris that began on 22 February 1848 sparked further revolutions in Italy and elsewhere. The Hungarian Insurrections of 1848-1849 included not only Hungary, but Austria and Russia as well. The Prusso-Danish War of 1848-1852 marked the landscape of this time; see Chris Cook and John Paxton, *European Political Facts 1789-1848* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1981), 68-77 and 99-100; and Chris Cook and John Paxton, *European Political Facts 1848-1918* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1978), 1-8 and 325-326.
[2] See McVeigh, 'Concert Promoters and Entrepreneurs', 163.

dead composers. However, this figure rose to 70% between 1853 and 1862.[3] William Weber called this the 'rise of masters to musical sainthood' and he ranked them in the following manner: 'first come the central trinity – Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven – then the early prophets – Handel and J.S. Bach – and finally the recent disciples – Schubert, Weber, Schumann, Spohr, and Mendelssohn.'[4] As seen in the previous chapter, Schubert was normally considered inferior to Beethoven, and this does not appear to change in this period. The *Daily News* and *The Times* both argued that Schubert's Quartet in D minor (D810) performed on 8 December 1862 was 'a very clever composition, but not of the same grade with the master works of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven.'[5] Weber's ranking of the 'disciples' accurately portrays what is found in regards to Schubert in contemporary periodicals, although authors often argue as to the ranking within this grouping. For instance, one 1861 writer commented that Weber's Symphony No. 1 in C major is 'seldom heard in public. It is worth a hearing, nevertheless, and should not be overlooked altogether by societies which patronise Schubert and Schumann.'[6] Yet another author ranked composers thusly: Clementi, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Hummel, followed by 'their worthier successors' Weber, Schubert, Mendelssohn, and Schumann.[7]

The documents in Appendix 3 demonstrate a highly vibrant song performance history for Schubert as does the publications listed in Appendix 7 within the period 1850 to 1866. Chapter I already mentioned Balfe's and Staudigl's role in helping to bring some of the favourite songs of the period into the limelight. Balfe, according to the documents in Appendix 3, does not appear to have sung Schubert again. Despite performing a variety of Schubert songs between 1828 and 1849, in this period the only piece he appears to have sung was 'Der Wanderer', twice. However this is likely due to his declining mental health which found him in a mental asylum in 1857.[8] Yet other singers seemed to take up the case of Schubert's songs. German bass singer, Karl Johann Formes (1815-1889), for instance, gave performances which ranged over a decade, mostly singing 'Der Wanderer'. Although sometimes this was sung in his native German, it was usually performed in English, with the years 1861 and 1862 containing his highest concentration of performances for this song. Other singers, too, took on 'Der Wanderer' as their primary Schubert song, from little-known Allan Irving and Lewis Thomas to the famous English singer Willoughby Hunter Weiss (commonly referred to in periodicals as

[3] Figures from Weber, 'Mass Culture', 18.
[4] Weber, 'Mass Culture', 5.
[5] *Daily News* and *The Times*, 9 December 1862.
[6] *Morning Chronicle*, 14 September 1861.
[7] *Morning Chronicle* and *The Times*, 3 February 1862.
[8] See H.P. Clive, *Schubert and His World: A Biographical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 229.

W. H. Weiss) (1820-1867). As was mentioned in Chapter I, 'Der Wanderer' was indeed the most popular song. As such, prominent English singer Sir Charles Santley (1834-1922) performed it numerous times in addition to another favourite, 'The Erl King'. Both were sung in English. Schubert's songs were often adapted. Dr William Spark (1824-1897) frequently performed 'Ave Maria' on the organ and a Levy (first name unknown) took it up on the cornet.

There were numerous pieces published in the 1850s and certainly a greater number than in the 1830s, but not as many as in the 1840s.[9] The pieces published in the 1850s were mostly songs (in both English and German) and a few marches, which indicate the dominance of Schubert's Lieder both in concert repertoire and in the home. In the 1860s the number of publications rose again. Instrumental works began to be published in this decade, such as six different impromptus (not including duplications) in 1861. Indeed, the impromptus seem to dominate the instrumental publications. Interestingly, Mass No. 1 in F (D105) and Mass No. 3 in B flat (D324) were published in Latin in 1865 despite there being no record of a performance of either of these pieces in the documents in Appendix 3. Although Schubert's quartets and quintets become well liked in the period of this chapter, they are not published in England before 1887 when the Quintet in C major, Op. 163 (D956) was published, despite numerous performances.[10] This disparity indicates that the domestic music market, in terms of Schubert's music, was mostly fuelled by vocal and piano works, demand for which generally did not seem to dwindle as the century wore on.[11] In 1869, J. M. Capes complained that 'Schubert is still, to a great extent, an unknown composer.' This was due, according to Capes, to the lack of piano arrangements of Schubert's orchestral music.[12] Indeed, it appears that the only piano arrangement of his symphonies here and elsewhere prior to 1869 was by Carl Reinecke in 1867 of the Symphony No. 8 in B minor published by Novello, Ewer & Co.[13] There were, for example, over twenty arrangements of movements from Beethoven's symphonies for pianoforte alone or for a mixture of instruments such as piano, strings and flute. *Rosamunde*, however, did have a number of arrangements in the

[9] See Appendices 1 and 7.
[10] Franz Schubert, *Quintet in C major, Op. 163 (D956)* (London: Payne, 1887).
[11] For information regarding domestic chamber music trends in this period see Christina Bashford, 'Historiography and Invisible Musics: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *JAMS*, Vol. 63, No. 2 (Summer 2010), 291-360.
[12] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 180, who cites J.M. Capes, 'Schubert', *Fortnightly Review* 11 (February 1869), 205.
[13] Franz Schubert, *Symphony No. 8 in B minor*, arr. Carl Reinecke (London: Novello, Ewer & Co, 1867).

1870s and 1880s. Nevertheless, Capes was correct in that there was a scarcity of arrangements of Schubert's music for the domestic market.

The documents in Appendix 3 highlight a growing number of performances of instrumental music. Certainly this growth seems to be part of a larger, general, trend leading one author to comment in 1861 that 'four years ago even the quartets of Haydn and Mozart – to say nothing of those of Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and other masters – were known only to a select few'.[14] Perhaps an exaggeration, yet there was a great rise in the number of performances across the board of chamber works. However, this change can also be accredited to what William Weber called the 'great transformation of musical taste'. The dichotomy between light and serious music became ever more defined and an agenda amongst idealist writers for high musical culture emerged by 1848. This included a 'serious demeanour during musical performances', 'respect for the integral work of art', 'the expectation that listeners learn about great works to understand them appropriately' (assisted through programme notes), and a 'hierarchal ordering of genres and tastes'.[15] Although these principles were not strictly defined, they are evidenced through contemporary writings.

2. PROMINENT INSTITUTIONS AND SCHUBERT'S MUSIC

A look at some prominent institutions in England's music culture and their treatment of Schubert's music, particularly instrumental music, will demonstrate which music was programmed and how it was received. Within this chapter, Charles Hallé as both independent performer and founder of the Hallé Concerts in Manchester, John Ella and his founding of the Musical Union, the Monday Popular Concerts, and the Philharmonic Society will be examined. The Crystal Palace, along with August Manns' and George Grove's influence, will be given a full case study in the following chapter. Some societies did not regularly perform Schubert's works, which contributes to the story behind the slow acceptance of his instrumental compositions. Those institutions, which regularly programmed Schubert's music, greatly helped their proliferation. This is not to say that these societies did not also aid other composers, but rather at a time when Schubert's instrumental works were little known and despite the occasional poor reviews their perseverance in promoting him was paramount to his eventual canonic status in England, especially considering that the reception was a posthumous one.[16]

[14] Anon., 'Monday Popular Concerts', *Musical World*, Vol. 41, No. 28 (11 July 1863), 437.
[15] Weber, *Great Transformation*, 97.
[16] According to my studies, at this stage Schubert's music was not performed at any prominent concerts apart from those listed in the documents found in the appendices.

2.1 Charles Hallé and the Hallé Concerts

Charles Hallé (1819-1895) greatly influenced Schubert's reception both as a performer and as the conductor of the orchestra that still bears his name in Manchester. Hallé was born Carl Halle (adding the accent later) in Germany in 1819. As a pianist, he moved to Paris in 1836 playing frequently in solo recitals and in chamber groups. Due to the political environment, which resulted in diminishing concert audiences and a lack of pupils, he moved to London in 1848.[17]

As the documents in Appendix 3 demonstrate, Hallé was an avid performer of Schubert's music and appeared regularly in London and Manchester. Sometime before 3 June 1848 he performed Stephen Heller's arrangement of 'Die Forelle' at the prestigious Hanover Square Rooms. The next reported performance was in 1849 when he played the Piano Trio in E flat major (D929) at the Musical Union.[18] Shortly thereafter, Hallé relocated to Manchester where some more songs were played on 24 January and 14 November 1850: 'Barcarolle' ['Gondelfahrer'], 'Adelaide', 'Rauschender Strom' ['Aufenthalt'], 'Die Ruhe' ['Du bist die Ruh'], and 'Erlkönig'. Hallé's subsequent performances of Schubert's music both in Manchester and in London rarely included songs. Some of the most commonly played pieces were the Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898), and the Piano Trio in E flat major, Op. 100 (D929), which he played often with a combination of either Bernhard Molique (1802-1869), Alfred Piatti (1822-1901), or Ferdinand Laub (1832-1875). Of course, solos had their advantage in terms of organization and practising; hence the majority of pieces were of this nature. Hallé commonly played the Sonata in B flat (D960) and the *Valse Caprice in A minor* which was part of the *Soirées de Vienne* (S427) by Liszt which was based on Schubert's music – particularly noteworthy in light of Liszt's role in the propagation of Schubert's music as discussed in the previous chapter.

Schubert's instrumental music received mixed reviews. The aforementioned Piano Trio in E flat major, Op. 100 (D929), left one reviewer writing: 'The name of

[17] See Michael Kennedy, 'Hallé, Sir Charles.' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12241 (accessed 16 June 2009). Kennedy does not specify when Hallé arrived in London, but another source suggests that this was just after the revolutions of 1848 began; see Anon., 'Sir Charles Hallé', *Manchester Faces & Places*, Vol. 1, No. 7 (10 April 1890) reprinted at http://www.mlfhs.org.uk/worthies/halle.php (accessed 25 June 2011).

[18] Charles Rigby, *Sir Charles Hallé: A Portrait for Today* (Manchester: The Dolphin Press, 1952), 75.

Schubert is justly placed amongst those of the greatest composers of his time.'[19] A few years later in 1853 another commentator noted that:

> [The] Trio of Schubert, the renowned vocal composer, whom Mr Ella justly calls 'the father of German song' excited great interest, as his instrumental works, though voluminous, are scarcely known in this country. We trust they will soon be better known; when they are, they will be a great addition to our musical treasures. This Trio [...] gave great pleasure by its elegance and symmetry, the brilliancy of the pianoforte part, and the sweet vocal melodies given to the violin and the violoncello.[20]

Schubert was clearly identified as above all a 'song composer'. Yet another critic complained (this time with an unknown performer) that although Schubert was 'elegant [...] and occasionally brilliant' in this piece he 'scarcely satisfies the ear that has been accustomed to the more impassioned originality of Mendelssohn.'[21] The word choice is striking here in that this author thought Mendelssohn more original and more passionate. This criticism was uncommon, as we will see in due course.

The Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898), though played numerous times by Hallé, was given a poor review after one of the first performances. The author of the article in the *Manchester Times* said that although Schubert had a high reputation for song writing especially in such instances as 'Erlkönig', 'Der Wanderer' and 'Ave Maria', in instrumental works he ranked far below Beethoven and Mendelssohn.[22] This was not the first poor review the piece received. After a performance on 18 October 1852 by an unknown performer, a critic wrote:

> Schubert's trio is a thing of shreds and patches. We listened in vain for that unity of idea which stands out so prominently in the works of Mozart and Beethoven. Some of the parts and episodes, standing alone, show delicate and graceful melody, combined with great skill in combination: but they hang loosely together, do not spring out of each other, and have little or no connection with the principal subject. The best movement perhaps was the Andante. The subject broad, clear and simple, but very imperfectly developed.[23]

This piano trio plays with the standard structure of the genre. For instance, the first movement follows the established sonata form, yet the recapitulation begins with three false starts before arriving at the expected key. The second movement, for this critic the 'best', presents the song-like melody in the cello with a piano accompaniment, yet when the violin brings back the subject it is not in the expected key of E flat. When the

[19] *Manchester Times*, 30 November, 1850.
[20] *Daily News*, 7 February 1853; and *Lady's Newspaper*, 12 February 1853.
[21] *Manchester Times*, 22 November 1856.
[22] *Manchester Times*, 12 November 1853.
[23] *Manchester Times*, 20 October 1852.

movement does arrive back at E flat, the piano plays the melody. However the subject is not the original one, but a variation of the melody. These differences probably led to the statement that it was 'imperfectly developed'. Even the Rondo of the last movement is unconventional, with it being closer to sonata form because it contains a substantial development section and lacks repetitions of the first theme.[24] It was most likely the combination of these alterations to the standard form of a piano trio which account for the reviews.

Yet Hallé was not deterred from playing the work again, though he seems to have waited nine years to do so. There were many other performances of this work by others with little said about the piece. The next time Hallé played the trio a commentator claimed it 'one of the latest and most interesting works of the master'.[25] The word 'master' here promotes images of perfection and canonicity. Perhaps time had run its course and audiences and critics grew to appreciate the piece.

The Sonata in B flat major (D960) has a strange reception, firstly because it seems to only have been performed by Hallé up through 1865, and secondly in the reviews it received. After most performances it was common for nothing to be written about the piece. However, after two performances two years apart it received some striking reviews. After the first performance in question, on 23 November 1863, *The Times* claimed it 'a romantic and beautiful, though irregular and occasionally even chaotic work';[26] mixed praise, but on the whole, positive. Yet the *Daily News* argued that the audience

> applauded loud and long [...] apparently, having discovered beauties in the work which, we are sorry to confess, we were unable to discover. Schubert was undeniably a man of genius: the multitude of beautiful songs and ballads which he has left behind him have put this beyond question. But in his productions *de longue haleine* he has been less successful. He seems to have been unable to grasp the structure and proportions of an extended work.[27]

Firstly, Schubert was primarily a song composer. Secondly, for this writer, a genius is one who can write a large number of beautiful works, yet form is important which this work seemed to lack. The reviews of the concert on 6 March 1865 follow in this vein. Perhaps by the same author, the *Daily News* proclaimed the piece:

[24] Melvin Berger, *Guide to Chamber Music* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2001), 378-379.
[25] *Bells Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 29 May 1862.
[26] *The Times*, 30 November 1863.
[27] *Daily News*, 24 November 1863. Italics original.

> unworthy of the company in which it was placed. It was of immoderate length, and seemed to be an endeavour to imitate the latest compositions of Beethoven, an endeavour which succeeded in so far as regarded incoherence and obscurity, but failed in respect to those bright gleams of beauty, power, and passion which burst through the clouds and darkness of those strange productions. To us, we are constrained to say, this sonata appeared a long, unmeaning rhapsody, which excited no feeling in our mind save mere weariness. Schubert gained a great and enduring reputation as a composer of Lieder - songs and ballads. But his want of the constructive faculty has caused his failure in every attempt to produce works in which clearness of design and symmetry of form are requisite. The audience applauded Mr Hallé's exertions, but the applause was faint, and evidently prompted more by courtesy than by feeling.[28]

The piece was too long and again common expectations regarding form appear. Form gave meaning which this piece apparently lacked. That Beethoven's name was linked in here is even more detrimental to Schubert's case. Another author colourfully wrote that the piece 'may be likened to an extensive and variegated garden sadly in need of a careful gardener to uproot the weeds, to tend and trim, to water and to watch. Schubert should have read Bacon's essay O*n Gardens*, and have applied its principles to this and others of his more ambitious instrumental works. Genius as he was, undoubtedly, the faculty of order was wanting in this prolific composer.'[29] In *On Gardens*, written in 1625, Sir Francis Bacon advised that gardens are planned so that in each month several 'things of beauty may be then in season.'[30] When describing shaping hedges Bacon suggested that 'whatsoever form you cast it into first, it be not too busy, or full of work.'[31] The author of the review was most likely referring to these two passages in particular. Schubert needed to carefully plan his works as order was what they lacked. The reviewer of the *Era* could only say that 'even the pianist's [Hallé] extraordinary talent, though doing every justice to the work, could not certify Schubert as a composer for this special instrument.'[32] Despite these highly negative reviews, Hallé frequently performed the Sonata in B flat major, though no one else appears to have done so within the time frame of the documents in Appendix 3.

Of all the pieces Hallé performed, this one received the most critical responses. The quality of performance does not appear to be the cause still Hallé did go on to play the work many times. The controversy may lay with its structure. It is a long piece, employing four movements, like many of Beethoven's early sonatas, and both the first

[28] *Daily News*, 7 March 1865.
[29] *The Times*, 7 March 1865.
[30] Francis Bacon, *The Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), 430.
[31] Bacon, *The Major Works*, 433.
[32] *The Era*, 12 March 1865.

and the last movement use sonata form but with three subjects.[33] Nevertheless, it is a strange reception history for this piece, especially considering that it does not appear that these writers were particularly critical of Schubert's music as other articles published by these periodicals around this time were favourable towards the composer.

The previous chapter of this dissertation made note of the feminine aspects of certain genres of Schubert's music. Critic Joseph Bennett remarked that Schubert's music suited the 'apparently feminine character of its exponent [Hallé]: "He [Hallé] was not a Boanerges, nor was the Thunderer his father. His qualities were best shown in the more gentle and more delicate work of the school anterior to that in which powerful pianists learned to break strings and smash hammers."'[34] The terms 'Boanerges' and 'Thunderer' both denote strength and power. Thus, Schubert's music was closely linked to the feminine given the more demure character of his piano works, albeit through a male performer.

Although Hallé would have a successful career playing in London, the capital was overcrowded with foreign musicians and, thus, Hallé accepted an invitation to go to Manchester and revive its music scene – beginning first by conducting the Gentlemen's Concerts. In 1857 he also began to give daily concerts for an exhibition of art treasures with an enlarged orchestra. So as to prevent the orchestra's dissolution at the event's conclusion, Hallé offered weekly concerts at his own financial risk. This was the beginning of the Hallé Concerts and Orchestra.[35] Although Hallé's profit for the first season of thirty concerts was only 2s. 6d, by 1865 it was over £2,000, demonstrating the success of the concerts. The Hallé concerts 'occupied an unrivalled position as the [Manchester's] principal cultural events in the second half of the nineteenth century, achieving a national and even international celebrity.'[36] Through these concerts, Hallé had enacted a 'musical revolution' in creating a high culture for classical music.[37]

Appendix 8 details the pieces played at the Hallé Concerts from conception in 1858 to 1883 (the end date of the present thesis). The prevalence of Hallé as performer is undeniable – both in song transcriptions and in pieces originally written for piano. There are a few other well-known names such as Joachim and Stockhausen and Welsh singer,

[33] Franz Schubert, *Sonata in B flat (D960)* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1888).
[34] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 179, who cites Joseph Bennett, *Forty Years of Music 1865-1905* (London: Methuen & Co, 1908), 349.
[35] See McVeigh, 'Concert Promoters and Entrepreneurs', 169.
[36] Gunn, *The Public Culture*, 135.
[37] Gunn, *The Public Culture*, 140, who cites *Guardian*, 9 March 1888. For more on the high culture revolution in Manchester, Leeds and Birmingham, see Gunn, *The Public Culture*, 134-188 and Simon Gunn, 'The Sublime and the Vulgar: the Hallé Concerts and the Constitution of 'High Culture' in Manchester c. 1850-1880', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 2.2 (Autumn 1997). 208-228.

Clara Novello (1861-1943). Both songs and chamber and orchestral music feature widely in this setting. Among the songs, there are a few that are repeated at most twice ('Shepherds' Chorus' from *Rosamunde* seems to be the exception at three repetitions). Even such popular pieces as 'Der Wanderer', 'Erlkönig' and 'Ave Maria' receive only two performances. Other pieces, such as 'Heidenröslein' and 'Die böse Farbe', which are not heard elsewhere according to the documents in Appendix 3 in the period 1850 to 1866, are heard at the Hallé Concerts twice. However, most of the songs appear in the 1870s and 1880s, which is odd considering Schubert's reputation as a song composer was fully established by the 1850s and by the 1870s a greater number of his instrumental works were well known as Appendices 3 and 7 demonstrate. Perhaps the increase of songs was due to the requests of visiting artists or it was possibly an answer to growing competition for audiences in Manchester ranging from those created from Hallé's principal flautist Edward de Jong (1837-1920), who set up his own venture, to the opera. Simon Gunn notes that whilst Hallé was dedicated to programming orchestral music, he found it necessary to engage renowned singers and virtuoso musicians as they had a great impact in raising attendance.[38] Yet the mid-1870s was the 'heyday' of Hallé's concerts,[39] perhaps in part due to the change in programming to encompass more songs.

Some of the most commonly heard piano music at these events were the Rondo Brillant in B minor, Op. 70 (D895), the Impromptu in B flat major, No. 3, Op. 142 (D935), and the *Valse Caprice in A minor* (part of *Soirées de Vienne* (S427) by Liszt based on Schubert's music). These pieces also feature heavily in the documents in Appendix 3 – often performed by Hallé in London. In the Hallé Concerts in Manchester, though, it is only ever Hallé who plays the piano parts, with the exception of one of the *Soirées de Vienne* by Schubert and Liszt where Anna Mehlig (1846-1928) played instead. Of Schubert's orchestral music, his overtures, Symphony No. 8 in B minor and Symphony No. 9 in C major dominate. Again this is representative of what was being heard in London.

Undoubtedly, Hallé's Orchestra was integral to the proliferation of Schubert's music in the midlands and north of England – giving over 120 performances of his works between 1857 and 1883. In the midst of this busy life organizing and giving concerts, Hallé returned nearly every year to London giving numerous performances which often included Schubert. Additionally, Hallé acted as editor on many of Schubert's works in the 1860s mostly through Chappell & Co.[40] These are all pieces for piano and include

[38] Gunn, *The Public Culture*, 147.
[39] Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 151-153.
[40] See Appendix 7.

solos and duets. Thus, Hallé influenced Schubert's reception history through a myriad of avenues.

2.2 The Musical Union

Founded in 1845 by violinist and music critic John Ella (1802-1888), the Musical Union was a socially exclusive group in which subscribers had to be recommended and then 'vetted' for their musical qualifications.[41] The Musical Union was highly successful, becoming 'one of the most illustrious and "intellectual" concert societies of the Victorian period, with a strong reputation in Britain and Europe for high-quality artists, seriousness of purpose, and social elitism'.[42] Ella also initiated evening chamber music concerts which, operating much like the Musical Union, were associated with high society, promoted the best in chamber music and utilised top performers. Yet these concerts were held in winter. Even though part of fashionable society was not in town in these months, there were enough people, including the professional class, with a serious taste in music to make the project viable. The Musical Winter Evenings, which began in 1852, were neither overly successful nor a failure. With a hiatus in 1856, they were recast as the Musical Union Soirées and ran until 1858.[43]

Concerts devoted to chamber music were quite unusual at this time.[44] The year prior to forming the Musical Union, there 'was no London institution where distinguished instrumentalists could be heard in any more substantial works than', according to Ella, 'ephemeral morceaux adapted to the tastes of those mixed audiences which usually attend the speculative monster, sensual and senseless concerts of a London Season'.[45] Programming at the Musical Union normally consisted of two quartets or quintets with songs or virtuoso solos by mostly continental composers, usually with top foreign

[41] See McVeigh, 'Concert Promoters and Entrepreneurs', 169. 'Vetted' was McVeigh's term. Ella retired in 1880 due to failing eyesight, however the Musical Union continued until 1881 under the direction of the cellist, Jules Lasserre (1838-?). For an in depth examination of audience makeup, see Christina Bashford, *The Pursuit of High Culture: John Ella and Chamber Music in Victorian London* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 146-160.
[42] Christina Bashford, 'John Ella and the Making of the Musical Union', *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 194.
[43] Bashford, *Pursuit*, 180-185.
[44] See McVeigh, 'Concert Promoters and Entrepreneurs', 169. The example was set by Joseph Dando and Henry Blagrove, both violinists, who discovered a niche in London for string quartets in the 1830s. This was then imitated by more famous musicians and eventually grew into the creation of societies.
[45] Dale, *Music Analysis*, 43, who cited John Ravell, 'John Ella, 1802-1888', *Music and Letters*, 34 (1953), 101.

performers whom Ella met on his trips in Europe. [46] Christina Bashford's tables, reproduced below, demonstrate the prominence of German composers, specifically Beethoven, Haydn, Mozart and Mendelssohn.

Table 1: Musical Union: Number of Performances of Ensemble Repertoire (including piano sonatas)[47]

	1845-9	**1850-4**	**1855-9**	**1860-4**	**1865-9**	**1870-4**	**1875-9**	**1880**	**1881**
Total Concerts	42	49	42	44	40	40	39	7	7
Beethoven	48 (1)	56 (9)	45 (5)	47 (6)	40 (6)	35 (2)	31 (2)	9	5
Brahms	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	1	-
Haydn	20	16	19	18	13	14	11	2	2
Hummel	4	3	6	7	6	5	5	1	1
Mendelssohn	13	33	25	23	24	14	23	3	2
Mozart	18	21	17	16	13	14	10	2	1
Onslow	11	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rubinstein	-	-	3	-	3	5	9	1	3
Schubert	-	2	-	2	7	8	2	1	2
Schumann	1	-	2	8	11 (1)	11	14 (2)	2	2
Spohr	8	8	9	10	7	2	-	-	-
Weber	2 (1)	1 (1)	1 (1)	4 (4)	-	5 (5)	-	-	-
Others[48]	7	12	4	2	3	5	17	1	3

[46] See Weber, *Great Transformation*, 135; and Christina Bashford, 'John Ella and the Making of the Musical Union', *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 194 and 203.
[47] Bashford, *Pursuit*, 361.
[48] See Bashford, *Pursuit*, 361, for a breakdown by dates of these composers.

Table 2: Musical Winter Evenings and Musical Union Soirées, 1852-1855, 1857-1858: Number of Performances of Ensemble Repertoire (including piano sonatas)[49]		
	1852-5	**1857-8**
Beethoven	17 (5)	3
Haydn	6	2
Hummel	2	-
Mendelssohn	11	3
Molique	5	1
Mozart	11	4
Onslow	-	1
Schubert	2	1
Schumann	1	1
Spohr	9	4
Others[50]	4	3

From this data it is apparent that Schubert's music was slow to gain a footing at the Musical Union, and made little impact at the Musical Winter Evenings and Musical Union Soirées. In part this can be accredited to Ella's stance on Schubert. Ella had publicly stated that Schubert's chamber music 'did not match the "more experienced writers" but was worth airing if only because it was more "orthodox in design" than some of the more modern repertoire.'[51] Whilst Ella considered it 'orthodox', many viewed Schubert's pieces as having poor form and thus not orthodox. Those that felt this way were often comparing Schubert with older composers of the Classical repertoire rather than contemporary pieces. Privately, he 'considered Op. 100 "a poor affair"'.[52] The lack of Schubert may also be a result of the audience's reaction such as that recorded by

[49] Bashford, *Pursuit*, 362.
[50] See Bashford, *Pursuit*, 362 for a breakdown by dates of these composers.
[51] Bashford, *Pursuit*, 198, who cites the Record of the Musical Union (1852), 7 and (1860), 31.
[52] Bashford, *Pursuit*, 198, who cites Ella's 5 February 1853 diary entry.

Joseph Joachim. In a letter to Franz Liszt regarding the performance of the Quartet in D minor (D810) on 4 May 1852, Joachim wrote:

> I [...] played the Schubert Quartette, which was not yet known over here. It made no impression; people thought that, as a novice in instrumental compositions, they could dismiss Schubert with a lofty doubt as to his capabilities in that direction. It is extraordinary how seldom people here allow themselves to form an unbiased judgment; they are so ruined by the commercial cries of the speculators (in whose hands music rests entirely) that they regard the names of musicians in exactly the same manner as they do those of business firms whose bills they would dishonour or accept according to whether they have heard their names often or seldom.[53]

This dismissal and prejudice was not an uncommon observation, as can be evidenced by letters of Chopin.[54] Regardless, foreign musicians flocked to London as political climates on the continent changed and because the financial reward made it an attractive place.[55]

Table 1 shows a striking relative abundance of Schubert between 1865 and 1874, the start of which corresponds with the growth of Schubert's performance repertoire elsewhere in England. From the outset of the Musical Union, Ella focussed on the classical masters; he was unenthusiastic to propagate modern chamber music and therefore the increasing use of Romantic composers can largely be attributed to performers' requests: for example, Schumann's music was championed by Clara Schumann (1819-1896), Nikolay Rubinstein (1835-1881), Alfred Jaëll (1832-1882), Edward Dannreuther (1844-1905), and Theodor Leschetizky (1830-1915). In fact, the hiring of artists was often on condition of the performance of certain, often modern, chamber works.[56] Perhaps it was these visiting artists to whom the surge of performances of Schubert's music can be attributed. Bashford suggests that it was Hallé in 1853 who requested that Ella allow him to play the Piano Trio in E flat major Op. 100 (D929) and

---

[53] Joseph Joachim, *Letters from and to Joseph Joachim* selected and trans. Nora Bickley (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd, 1914), 12. Here the letter is dated 22 May. However in Hans Gál (ed.), *The Musician's World: Great Composers in Their Letters* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1965), the letter is dated 27 May.

[54] See Gál, *Musician's World*, 196-199. Chopin's letter to Albert Grzymala dated 13 May 1848 is particularly telling. Regarding an unknown concerto performed at the Philharmonic Society, he writes, 'it was a fiasco. They have to have Mozart, Beethoven or Mendelessohn'; see Gál, *Musician's World*, 196.

[55] In a letter to his parents on 27 April 1848, Charles Hallé claimed that 'Thalberg, Chopin, Kalkbrenner, Pixis, Osborne, Prudent, Pillet, and a lot of other pianists besides myself who have all, through necessity, been driven to England, and we shall probably end by devouring one another'; see C. Hallé, *Life and Letters*, ed. C.E. Hallé and M. Hallé (London: Smith, Elder, & Co, 1896), 27 April 1848, cited in Cyril Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society* (Oxford: Carendon Press, 1995), 78.

[56] Bashford, *Pursuit*, 231 and 312.

Pauer who requested the Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898) in 1855.[57] Yet the sudden decline beginning in 1875 seems odd. Of course, statistically we cannot hold much to the 1880 and 1881 columns as these only represent one year as opposed to the larger grouping of years throughout the rest of the table, yet there is a sharp decline in the 1875 to 1879 column. There is nothing in Schubert's reception history to explain this; nor is there anything similar with any other composer in the table. Given Ella's dislike for Schubert and the likelihood that artists were the driving force behind the performances of Schubert's works, I would therefore argue that the artists who were hired in this period and who had a decisive say in the matter, were requesting different works.[58] This is further supported by the 'Others' row in the table, which saw an increase in the same period, namely composers such as Saint-Saëns and Tchaikovsky, each with five works performed. In fact, 'in the decade or so from 1868 the infiltration of new ensemble music at the Musical Union was keenly felt, as the core repertoire was augmented by a series of mostly one-off-performances of modern or untried works, many of which the players argued for.'[59] It was Jaëll who requested Schubert's A minor String Quartet No. 1, Op. 29 (D804). Ella's reaction to it was that it 'bored' him 'to death'.[60] Overall, the Musical Union did not perform Schubert as often as other groups discussed within this dissertation, but its season was comparatively short, averaging eight concerts per year. Nevertheless, the high artistic quality of their performances helped to bring Schubert's chamber works to the musically social elite, which in turn increased the desirability of performing his music.

The Musical Union's programme notes, used from 1845 to 1881, are noteworthy for their analytical approach, which differed from many contemporaries. The programme note was a forum that allowed societies to be proactive in shaping audience's reception of music. This method was usually more effective than reactive concert reviews as it formed audience's expectations. Concert programmes and their accompanying notes developed slowly. According to Catherine Dale, it was not before around 1817 that concert programmes even indicated the number or key of the work to be performed – 'Symphony, Mozart' was very common. In 1836, Charles Henry Purday wrote to the *Musical World*, suggesting that programmes contain an explanation of the structure of works. This was slow to take hold and as programmes gradually became the norm, the

[57] Further study of Ella's papers (located in the John Ella Collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford) may illuminate the extent to which artists requested to play Schubert.
[58] Ella noted: 'It often happens that the pianist makes it a condition, in his engagement, to play a particular composition' (*Record of the Musical Union*, 1891, supplement p.v., cited in Bashford, *Pursuit*, 312).
[59] Bashford, *Pursuit*, 312.
[60] Bashford, *Pursuit*, 312, who cites Ella's diary entry from 17 June 1873.

style, format and technical information included was varied.[61] Programme notes were sold and consequently not all concertgoers read them, yet from the amount of effort and detail that these notes held, it would seem that enough people read them to make them profitable.

The Musical Union's programme notes, written by Ella and distributed a day or two before the concert,[62] indicated the main themes and other significant aural aspects of the piece, using both musical type and prose containing musical vocabulary. Many also provided a biography of the composer and a compositional history of the work.[63] The programme note for the Quartet in D minor (D810) at the aforementioned concert is particularly striking in the issues raised regarding the placement of the quartet amongst Schubert's œuvre and that of other composers:

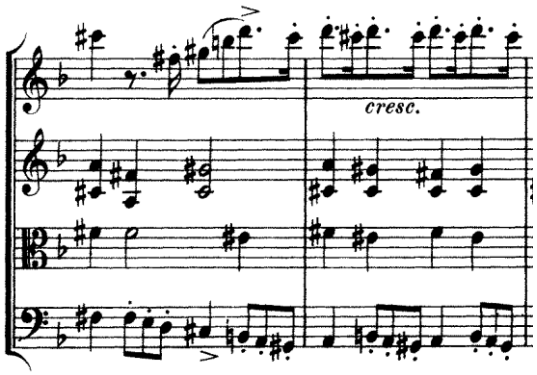
> We have included [... a] Quartet [...] as the most meritorious work of a large collection of untried compositions [...]. The name of Schubert is associated in our minds with the most thrilling emotions of vocal eloquence. The number and variety of his chamber songs are astonishing, and their originality and beautifully descriptive power are unrivalled [...] we do not rate any of the instrumental music of Schubert with that of the more experienced writers, whose whole lives were chiefly devoted to the species of composition; but, as compared with the pedantry and unmelodic effusions of the more ambitious flights of many other composers [...] both the Quartets and Trios of Schubert are deserving of the preference given this day to his posthumous composition.[64]

Ella attempted to pre-empt any criticisms by putting a favourable light on the work before it was heard, but Joachim was correct in his conclusion that many considered Schubert a 'novice in instrumental compositions'.[65] The *Daily News*, echoing the ranking outlined in the programme note for Schubert's instrumental works, wrote that the Quartet in D minor 'contains many beautiful traits of melody; but its deficiency in simplicity and clearness showed inexperience in instrumental composition; and its defects were rendered more apparent by its [sic] being placed in contrast with one of Beethoven's

[61] See Dale, *Music Analysis*, 35ff, for more information regarding the history of the programme note. Also see Nigel Simeone, 'Programme note.' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/51278 (accessed 22 June 2009); and Christina Bashford, 'Educating England: Networks of Programme-Note Provision in the Nineteenth Century', *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914*, ed. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 349-376. Programme notes were often shared between institutions; see Bashford, 'Educating England', 357. As it is normally untraceable in uncovering the 'original' note, we will take the original to be the note under examination at the time.
[62] See Dale, *Music Analysis*, 43-44.
[63] Bashford, *Pursuit*, 138. His programme notes were often emulated, not only domestically but also on the continent; see Bashford, *Pursuit*, 138.
[64] The Musical Union Programme Note, 4 May 1852.
[65] Bickley, *Letters*, 12.

most perfect works'.[66] The *Morning Chronicle* reported that although the piece excited some 'interest and curiosity [...]. The eccentricity and irregularity of the movements, and the harsh vehemence of certain passages, appeared to startle the lovers of the more classical and serene forms of art', yet the Andante con moto 'contained a delicious snatch of solemn and plaintive music, beautifully harmonized.'[67] Here, 'classical' referred to the more 'traditional' music of the Austro-German tradition including Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven.

These comments must be put into perspective. The piece can be characterized by frequent and often sudden changes in dynamics, which could lead the critic above to use the word 'harsh'. Yet this is not the only example. The first movement is littered with triplets and dotted quavers often happening simultaneously as in the example below.



Example 7: Schubert's Quartet in D minor (D810), first movement, bars 153-154.[68]

Indeed, jarring rhythms characterise the piece from beginning to end in every movement. The third movement for example is rife with syncopations and dramatic dynamic leaps.

The form of the quartet's second movement is that of a theme and variations, whereby the theme is pulled from the first eight bars of Schubert's 1817 Lied, 'Der Tod und das Mädchen'. Death's section of the song, bars twenty-two to thirty-seven, is also utilized in the quartet in bars nine to twenty-four. Other similarities lie in its form and simple, yet emotional, harmonic language. With its reliance on the Lied, the movement therefore gains a strong programmatic element. Given this relationship, it is unsurprising that the work was described as being full of beautiful melody and seen as 'irregular'. Yet

[66] *Daily News*, 5 May, 1852. Beethoven's piece was most likely the Quartet in A major, Op. 18, No. 5.
[67] *Morning Chronicle*, 5 May 1852.
[68] Franz Schubert, *Quartet in D minor (D810)*, (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1890), first movement, bars 153-154.

no critic mentioned that the Lied was embedded within the quartet, perhaps because the analysis of the piece in the programme notes was lacking in details due to the writer not having the score. Had this information been known, perhaps there would have been a more positive reaction to the piece.

The vocabulary of the programme note does not successfully negotiate the intricacies inherent in a chamber work based upon a piece of music from another (and perceived as lesser) genre, and is unsurprising given Ella's negative opinion on much of Schubert's œuvre and given the lack of a score at the time of writing. The language used in the programme notes can be seen to contain gender connotations, such as this description of rhythm – 'pleasing melodic outline of a graceful succession of triplets'[69] – and this one on melody – 'the natural tendency of the composer's train of thought is expressed in his melodies, which are generally of a sentimental and pathetic character'.[70] Schubert's 'charming melodies'[71] are also commonly mentioned. The vocabulary is also characteristic of that used for the interpretation of the Lied. Thus, the descriptive words such as 'pleasing', 'graceful', 'sentimental', and 'pathetic' act to demote the chamber works to which they refer and essentially infer that they could not be perceived on the same calibre as the chamber works by another composer, such as Beethoven. That part of the work was based on the melody of a song, does not aid in changing the image of Schubert the 'song composer'. With an aim of directing the audience on how and what to listen for, Ella's choice of words was instrumental in shaping the listeners' expectations.

2.3 The Monday and Saturday Popular Concerts

With similar aims, although at cheaper prices and without requiring musically knowledgeable audiences, the Monday and Saturday Popular Concerts provided an alternative to the Musical Union. The Monday Popular Concerts were founded in 1856 by Thomas Patey Chappell of the publishing firm Cramer, Beale & Chappell (co-founded by his father). It was his younger brother, Samuel Arthur Chappell, who directed the concerts.[72] The Monday Popular Concerts (1859-1876) and the later development of the Saturday Popular Concerts (1865-1904) combined chamber music and solo

[69] The Musical Union Programme Note, 5 February 1853. All Musical Union programme notes used in this dissertation are located at the Royal College of Music, Centre for Performance History.
[70] The Musical Union Programme Note, 30 June 1868.
[71] The Musical Union Programme Note, 17 June 1873.
[72] See W.H. Husk, et al. 'Chappell.' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05438 (accessed 4 September 2009).

performances.[73] The title 'Popular' was meant to indicate that the repertory was intended for the general public rather than specialists.[74] Nevertheless the Monday and Saturday Popular Concerts (often called the Monday Popular Concert even though it now took place on a Saturday) were a quite serious chamber series, though not to the same degree as the Musical Union. Regardless, these concerts were able to engage top artists.

Nearly two hundred performances of Schubert's chamber works took place here. In the *Catalogue of Works performed at the Monday Popular Concerts during thirty-four seasons commencing February 14 1859 and finishing April 11 1892*, which does not give any details of vocal works, 125 different composers had works performed at these series. Of these, Schubert was in the top nine composers with the most performances, the others being Bach, Beethoven, Chopin, Haydn, Mendelssohn, Mozart, Schumann, and Spohr. The table below details Schubert's pieces performed by this society.

Table 3: Schubert's Works Performed at the Monday Popular Concerts from 1859-1883[75]

Piece	**Number of Performances**
Octet in F major, Op. 166 (D803)	18
Andante with Variations and Minuet and Trio, from Octet in F, Op. 166 (D803)	1
Quintet in A major, Op. 144 (D667)	5
Quintet in C major, Op. 163 (D956)	12
Quartet in A minor, Op. 29 (D804)	23
Quartet in D minor (D810)	16
Quartet in G major (D887)	2
Quartet in B flat major, Op. 168 (D112)	1
Allegro assai from Sonata in C minor (D703)	1
Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)	29
Trio in E flat major, Op. 100 (D929)	8

[73] See Cyril Ehrlich, Simon McVeigh, and Michael Musgrave. 'London (i), VI: Musical life: 1800-1945.' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16904 (accessed 24 February 2009).

[74] See Weber, *Great Transformation*, 275.

[75] Saint James's Hall, *Catalogue of Works performed at the Monday Popular Concerts during thirty-four seasons commencing February 14 1859 and finishing April 11 1892* (London: Chappell and Co, no date), 31-32. See these pages also for dates of performances. My statistics cover the period from the inauguration of the Monday Popular Concerts to the end date of the present thesis.

Trio in B flat major [most likely D581]	1
Fantasia in C major, Op. 159 (D934)	5
Rondeau Brillant in B minor, Op. 70 (D895)	12
Sonata in A minor (for Arpeggione and Piano) (D821)	1
Litania	1
Fantasy in C major, Op. 15 (D760)	4
Impromptu in C minor, No. 1, Op. 90 (D899)	4
Impromptu in E flat major, No. 2, Op. 90 (D899)	1
Impromptu in G major, No. 3, Op. 90 (D899)	1
Impromptu in A flat major, No. 4, Op. 90 (D899)	1
Impromptu in F minor, No. 1, Op. 142 (D935)	1
Impromptu in A flat major, No. 2, Op. 142 (D935)	1
Impromptu in B flat major, No. 3, Op. 142 (D935)	7
Impromptu in F minor, No. 4, Op. 142 (D935)	6
Sonata in D major, Op. 53 (D850)	2
Sonata in G major, Op. 78 (D894)	8
Sonata in A major, Op. 120 (D664)	2
Sonata in E flat major, Op. 122 (No. 5 of Hallé's edition) (D568)	1
Sonata in A minor (posthumous) (No. 8 of Hallé's edition)[76]	1
Sonata in A major [either Op. 120 (D784) or (D959)]	4
Sonata in B flat major (D960)	7
Sonata in C minor (D958)	2

From the table we see that the Trio in B flat major, Op. 99, was the most popular piece and was given a greater number of performances than the Trio in E flat major, Op. 100. Although the Trio in B flat was first aired in 1862 and the Op. 100 in 1867, this only accounts for five performances. Schumann is quoted as saying: 'The Trio in E flat is more spirited, manly, dramatic; this [Trio in B flat], on the other hand, is full of anguish, more womanly and lyric in character.'[77] Although it is most likely that the Victorian audience would not have known of Schumann's thoughts on the trios, and given that many listeners were often focused on gender and music, it is striking that they preferred

[76] The Posthumous sonata in A minor could refer to any of the following: Op. 164 (D537), Op. 143 (D784) or Op. 42 (D845). Copac and the British Library do not indicate that Hallé had anything to do with these apart from the Allegro in A minor, 'Lebensstürme', Op. 144 (D947).
[77] Kreissle, *Franz Schubert, Vol. 2*, 233. The source of Schumann's statement remains uncertain.

the more lyrical of the two. The Hallé concerts did not perform either of these pieces, though Hallé himself did in London, performing the Trio in B flat more often. This is representative of the more generalized performance history described within the documents in Appendix 3 which of course takes into account Hallé's and the Monday Popular Concert's performance according to advertisements. Thus it seems the English public generally preferred the Trio in B flat. The Trio in E flat is indebted to Beethoven. For instance, like many of Beethoven's piano trios, of which there are twelve, it is in four movements (as is the B flat).[78] Like Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, 'motives connect movements and music from an earlier movement is incorporated into a later one.'[79] In the second movement, Schubert used the *Marcia funebre* of the *Eroica*. Furthermore, the 'C minor cello melody atop a processional piano accompaniment in the first measures projects a similar melodic gesture to the beginning of the second movement of the *Eroica*. The openings also share the same tonality and the distinctive dotted sixteenth, thirty-second [semiquaver, demisemiquaver] note rhythm.'[80] Perhaps this homage to Beethoven, was in fact detrimental to the piece's reception in England where their reception histories were already too closely linked.

Schubert's second most popular piece at the Monday Popular Concerts was the Quartet in A minor, Op. 29. Perhaps in part this is due to the second movement, which is based on the theme from the incidental music to *Rosamunde*. However, the Hallé Concerts did not play this piece and there is only once instance of the work in the documents used in Appendix 3, which is not at the Monday Popular Concerts. Schubert's quartets and quintets were more popular than his sonatas or impromptus. With more focus being on quartets and quintets rather than on the less serious genre, the impromptus, Schubert's status as an instrumental composer would have been elevated. It also tied him closer to the outputs of the Classical composers rather than the Romantic composers (i.e. Liszt and Chopin) who, as we see throughout this thesis, were less esteemed than their predecessors.

As previously mentioned, this table only takes into account the chamber works. The most common songs tended to be representative of performances nationwide and include such works as 'Der Wanderer' and 'Der Erlkönig'. A concert on 16 May 1859 is noteworthy as it was dedicated solely to Schubert and Spohr. It also contained Schubert's only instrumental works to be performed that year, and no more were played until 1861.

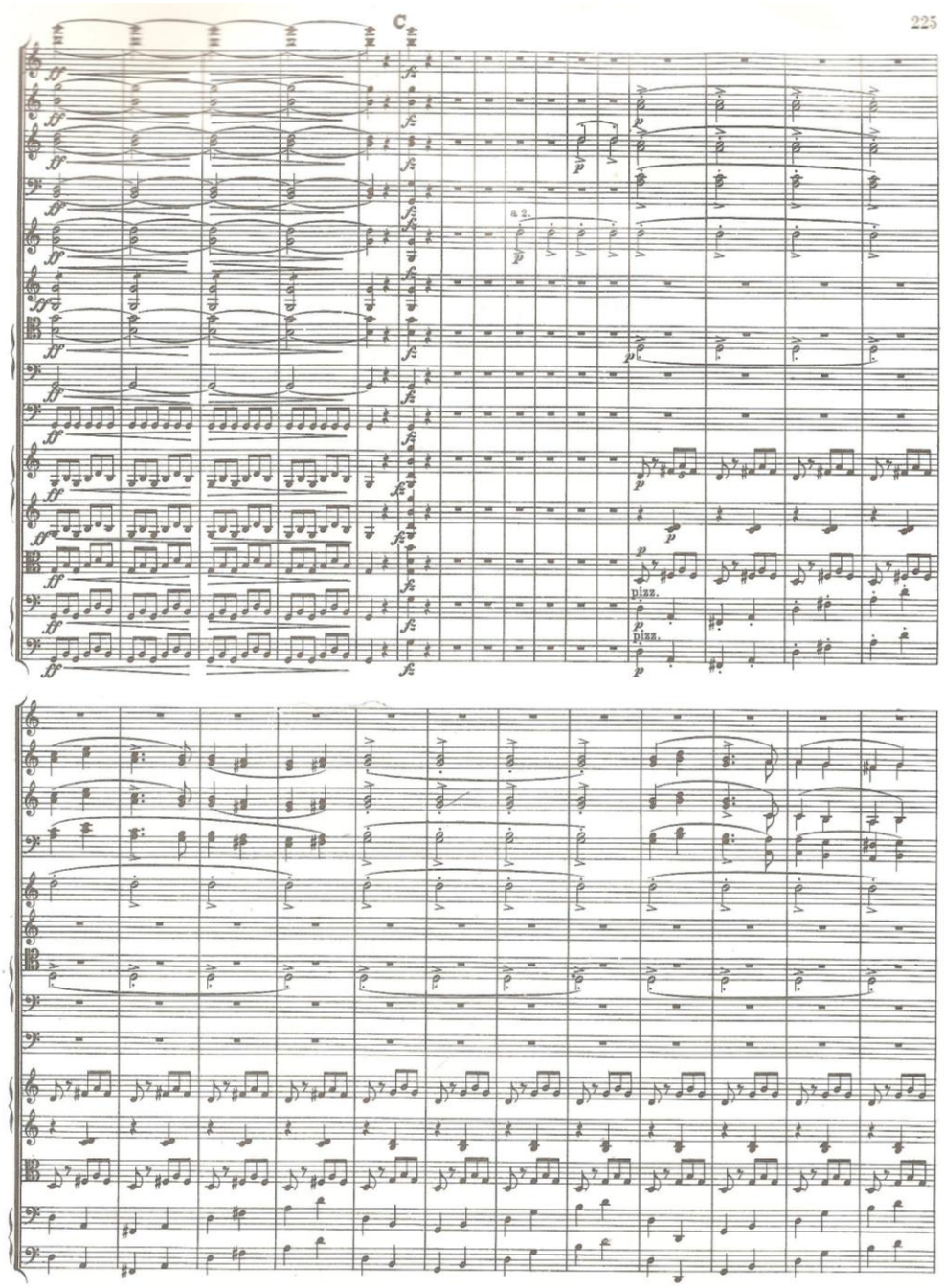
[78] Beethoven's Op. 1, Nos. 1-3; Op. 70, No. 2; and Op. 97 are examples of his four movement piano trios.
[79] Gibbs, *The Life of Schubert*, 157.
[80] Gibbs, *The Life of Schubert*, 158.

One might suppose that this was due to poor reviews, but this was not the case. *The Times* reported that 'so well was each part received as to warrant the belief that an entire concert might be devoted, with excellent results, to either of these composers [Schubert and Spohr]'.[81] Thus the break in Schubert's instrumental repertoire must be due to factors other than reception, but I have found nothing to suggest what this might be. Schubert's instrumental music was played every year thereafter, possibly because the organizers saw the popularity of Schubert's instrumental works elsewhere. Regardless, this concert series was successful and their advertisements appeared regularly listing composers' names for each concert, meaning that Schubert's name was often in print.

2.4 The Philharmonic Society and the New Philharmonic Society

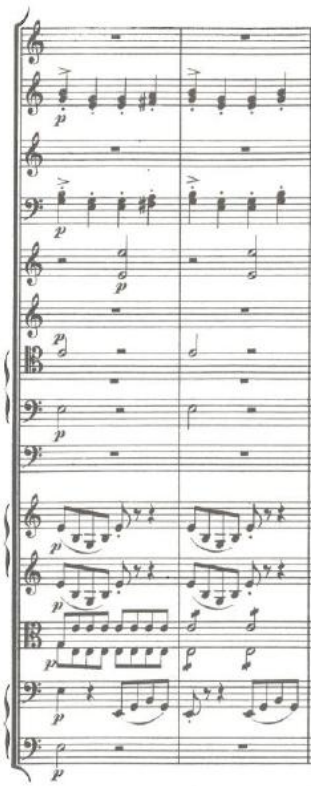
The 1844 season of the Philharmonic Society found Mendelssohn conducting a series of concerts which greatly influenced Schubert's reception history. At a rehearsal, Mendelssohn introduced Schubert's Symphony No. 9 in C major, but it had to be dropped due to ridicule from instrumentalists caused by the final movement's repeated triplets.[82] Although triplets feature throughout, they are not continuous. Triplets begin in bar 6 with staccato and last for nine bars. Slurred ones appear again in the first theme in bar 37 and are more or less continuous until bar 70 when they return to staccato. This rhythm is continued for a further eighteen bars until changing to a triplet followed by a crotchet or quaver on and off until the second theme appears in bar 161 when triplets return shortly thereafter and remain an accompanimental feature. Although it is impossible to know for certain at which point the musicians ridiculed the triplets, it is likely that they had grown weary by the second theme's extensive repetition (shown in Example 8). Of course triplets feature in the first movement as well and surely these compounded the problem. In this movement, the triplets begin in bar sixty-one and continue for seventeen bars and there is a repeating quaver figure that begins in bar 134 and lasts for more than ninety bars (see Example 9).

[81] *The Times*, 18 May 1859.
[82] Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic*, 51.



Example 8: Schubert's Symphony No. 9 in C major, fourth movement, bars 153-180.[83]

[83] Franz Schubert, 'Symphony No. 9', *Four Symphonies in Full Score*, ed. Johannes Brahms (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1978), bars 153-180.



Example 9: Schubert's Symphony No. 9 in C major, first movement, bars 134-135.[84]

Previously, the only other Schubert piece the Philharmonic had included in its programmes was 'Der Wanderer' in 1843. Following the above incident in the 1844 season, the orchestra played the Overture to *Fierrabras* (10 June 1844), but to mostly poor reviews as described in Chapter I. Although later that month (24 June 1844) 'La Religieuse' ('Die Nonne') was sung, the combination of the failed rehearsal and these poor critiques caused the Philharmonic to limit Schubert on its programmes. The next time Schubert was performed was in 1849 – a scored version of 'Ave Maria' – and then 'Der Erlkönig' four years later (1853). These songs were already quite popular and thus a safe programming choice for the Philharmonic. Schubert's orchestral music was not played again until 1867 when the Symphony No. 8 in B minor was performed. In no way, however, was a floodgate opened for further performances after that year, although this symphony did become the favourite of Schubert's works at the Philharmonic with a total of twelve performances between 1867 and 1901. Another two years lapsed until a different orchestral work, the Overture to *Rosamunde*, was played (1869). It was not until 1871 (fifteen years after the Crystal Palace's first performance) that the Philharmonic

[84] Franz Schubert, 'Symphony No. 9', *Four Symphonies in Full Score*, ed. Johannes Brahms (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1978), bars 134-135.

performed Symphony No. 9. This symphony became the second most performed work of Schubert's with eight performances between 1871 and 1911.[85]

The story of the failed rehearsal of Symphony No. 9 was often recounted in the late 1850s and early 1860s and partly explains the lack of performances of the piece until two decades later. At the concert by the Musical Society of London (conducted by Alfred Mellon) on 31 March 1859, the piece was performed and was new to the majority of the audience, having probably only been played elsewhere by the Crystal Palace Orchestra. It was poorly received and the reviewer in *The Times* not only had few positives to say, but also recounted the failed rehearsal. Following a performance of the piece by the New Philharmonic Society (conducted by Dr Henry Wylde), *The Times* noted that it was performed well, although it 'tested the capabilities of the orchestra and the readiness of the conductor'. Recalling the poorly received response at the concert of the Musical Society of London, the author explained that it was not due to the quality of performance, but rather that the audience, which 'is chiefly composed of musicians and amateurs of more or less acquirement', tended to criticize any new or unknown work.[86] This comment would seem to suggest that the Musical Society of London's audience's response was not particular to Schubert. A different reaction came from the New Philharmonic concerts where Wylde spoke to an audience that came 'prepared to listen with deference and applaud without restraint whatever touches their sympathies, disdaining to inquire into "the reason why"'. Thus this piece was received much better. Of the failed rehearsal with Mendelssohn, the author believed that the Philharmonic Society 'did itself little credit in ignoring his recommendation [to perform the symphony]'.[87] Striking in this commentary is the clear distinction of types of audiences and the disparaging view of the Philharmonic Society.

Like many groups in London at the time, the Philharmonic included programme notes, which were bought for sixpence.[88] Those regarding our repertoire were written by George Alexander Macfarren.[89] His commentary on 'Gretchen at the Spinning-Wheel' lacks the effeminate vocabulary so commonly used in discussions of Schubert's songs:

---

[85] For dates and number of performances of Schubert's works see Myles Birket Foster, *History of the Philharmonic Society of London: 1813-1912; A Record of a Hundred Years' Work in the Cause of Music* (London: John Lane, 1912), 594.
[86] *The Times*, 31 March 1859.
[87] *The Times*, 12 March 1861. The *Morning Chronicle*'s article (13 March 1861) of the same performance spoke similarly in regards to the Philharmonic Society and of the much better reception of this work.
[88] See Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic*, 121.
[89] See Nicholas Temperley, 'Macfarren, Sir George (Alexander).' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/17324 (accessed 18 September 2009).

> one of the most picturesque, the most passionate, and in all respects the most successful of the many hundreds of Schubert's songs and it is one of the best, as it was one of the first examples of objective imitation in an accompaniment to illustrate the poem – the pianoforte part here suggesting a thought of the motion of the wheel, which is interrupted when the current of feeling distracts the spinster from her work.[90]

His commentary for the Symphony No. 8 was reprinted for each concert with only minor changes. A sympathetic critic of Schubert's music, he writes, 'there is no musician known who had so few opportunities as Schubert of bringing his works, either in print or performance, before the public, and whose passion for his art still induced him to labour on and pour forth his wonderful riches of invention in piece after piece'.[91] Perhaps he felt a special affinity with Schubert, as he himself had struggled to get his operatic works on stage and his symphonies failed to receive attention.[92] Macfarren propagated the common belief that Schubert was poorly educated:

> Ill-trained, nay, all but uneducated in the mechanism of composition, he had such an affluence of ideas as had enriched few of the great masters, but he failed in technical skill for their development, and still more for their condensation. Hence it is that many of his larger works, in instrumental music particularly, are prolix from a very excess of beauty. Such vague diffuseness of plan, such redundancy of excellent material, as dissipate the interest and mar the effect of other of his productions, appear not in the present unfinished or rather unended work, which is [...] more nearly assimilated to the greatest masterpieces of its class.[93]

Macfarren juxtaposes beauty and technical skill, and in effect condemns Schubert's other larger instrumental pieces as feminine. As discussed in Chapter I, a man's composition must demonstrate intellectual mastery, which, if devoid of technical ability, failed to be masculine.

The Philharmonic did not programme progressive works, by Schubert or others, which caused considerable problems. From approximately 1850, the society was in a gradual decline that did not cease until the 1880s. Largely due to thrift, the directors failed to engage top artists. Not wishing to spend money, little rehearsal time was dedicated to the practice of difficult pieces, causing either bad press due to substandard

[90] Philharmonic Society Programme Note, 5 April 1869. All Philharmonic Society programme notes used in this dissertation are located at the Royal College of Music, Centre for Performance History.
[91] Philharmonic Society Programme Note, 19 April 1869.
[92] Temperley, 'Macfarren'.
[93] Philharmonic Society Programme Note, 19 April 1869. See Chapter V's discussion on the belief that Schubert had a poor education.

performances or complete avoidance of challenging works.[94] Furthermore, performances were 'rarely competent' and 'hackneyed pieces were often given lackadaisical readings'.[95] Financial collapse began in 1866 with near financial ruin by 1880, when change began. Finally, by 1890, the society's finances and status was once again highly favourable.[96]

The New Philharmonic Society (1852-1879) was led by Henry Wylde, and its first few years proved that serious and adventurous programming could be provided successfully for socially wide-ranging audience at a range of ticket prices. Wylde also provided his audiences with programme notes.[97] Although more progressive than the Philharmonic Society in its programming of contemporary music, the New Philharmonic Society performed fewer works by Schubert and those played were mostly songs. Chamber works mostly comprised two, frequently repeated, works – the Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898), and the Rondo in B minor, Op. 70 (D895). The lack of Schubert's music at this establishment is rather disappointing given that the Society's aim was to 'introduce new or rare works'.[98]

These societies were important in changing Schubert's image as a 'song' composer into that of an 'instrumental' and a 'song' composer, and programme notes were fundamental in shaping audience's aesthetic responses. The most influential societies in Schubert's reception were undoubtedly the Hallé Orchestra and the Monday and Saturday Popular concerts. The majority were founded in the second half of the 1850s with their highest concentration of Schubert's music in the following two decades.

3. THE TERM 'GENIUS'

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the 1850s and 1860s saw an increase in the use of the word 'genius'. Initially in this period the word was used in conjunction with Schubert's songs, but gradually this gave way to frequent usage when discussing his instrumental works. After a performance of 'Ave Maria' sung by Bishop (first name unknown), the song was described as 'one of the most profoundly beautiful works of that

[94] See Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic*, 81-83.
[95] Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic*, 118.
[96] Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic*, 132. See Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic*, 77-131, for a detailed account of the Society's problems and decline.
[97] See Dale, *Music Analysis*, 47-48, for more information on these programme notes.
[98] John Warrack and Rosemary Williamson, 'Wylde, Henry.' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/30636 (accessed 25 June 2011).

rare genius.'[99] Yet of the Quartet in D minor (D810), one critic, as previously mentioned, complained that although it 'shows marks of its author's genius and contains many beautiful traits of melody [...] its deficiency in simplicity and clearness showed inexperience in instrumental compositions.'[100] After another concert for the same Quartet nearly ten years later, one critic remarked that 'of Schubert's genius his beautiful songs and ballads leave no doubt; but it appears to us that he has been less happy when he has undertaken [extended] works [such as] symphonies or quartets. This quartet in particular is (especially in the principal movement) a palpable imitation of Beethoven's latest and least imitable style; and Schubert has only been obscure and incoherent, without Beethoven's wonderful grasp of thought.'[101] Although this piece has already been discussed in the present chapter, it is pertinent for the discussion here in the juxtaposition between the idea that he was a genius in song composition but not, at this time, in instrumental writing. Similar comments occurred after a performance of the Symphony No. 9 in C major which 'abounds in so many phases of piquant expression and elaborate harmonies, that it requires to be heard many times for a thorough appreciation of the genius of its composer.'[102] After a concert, including the Fantasy in C major, Op. 15 (D760), one critic complained that the piece was of 'rather questionable merit. [...] A more rambling and incoherent piece has seldom perplexed the fingers of a "virtuoso" or tormented the ears of his audience. [...] If it had been the intention of the talented pianist to prove that Schubert, though a genius, was at times a bad composer, he would have succeeded triumphantly.'[103] 'Rambling', though a creative way to say Schubert lacked form in this piece, is an interesting word to choose given that this Fantasy, popularly known as the 'Wanderer' Fantasy, is based on the Lied 'Der Wanderer'. The critic does not mention the Lied, so it is a possibility that the critic was unaware of the relationship between the pieces. However, it is also possible that the critic knew this and the use of the word 'rambling' was an attempt at humour. Nevertheless, though the commentary is quite negative, it does have a certain sense of appreciation for other music by Schubert. Critiquing a performance of the Quintet in C major, Op. 163 (D956), one writer claimed that 'Schubert was born a genius, a musical poet in the highest sense, and a prodigal inventor to boot; whereas Schumann was simply a composer by force of strong will and arduous toil [...]. To place the quintet of Schubert in the same programme as the quintet of Schumann [Quintet in E flat major, Op. 44] was even a greater piece of cruelty

[99] *Musical Times*, 22 January 1851.
[100] *Daily News* and *Morning Chronicle*, 5 May 1852.
[101] *Daily News*, 15 January 1861.
[102] *Bells Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 17 March 1861.
[103] *The Times*, 3 February 1862.

towards the latter than if it had been a quintet of Mozart, Beethoven, or Mendelssohn.'[104] This speaks volumes to the high regard the author held for Schubert's Quintet. For him, hard work was not what it took to be a great composer. One was born a genius. As late at 1866 one author expressed the wish that Schubert's musical genius will receive proper acknowledgment as a composer of more important works than songs and ballads.'[105] For, as we have seen, his instrumental works were receiving varied reactions. What is striking in all these reviews is that Schubert's 'genius' is undeniable when it comes to his Lieder. However his instrumental works received a mixed reception where form and lack of simplicity and clarity were often criticized.

4. SALON CULTURE

Nothing has been said yet about the salon culture that nurtured Schubert's music on the Continent. In Victorian England, these private concerts took place at the residences of prominent members of society or at musicians' homes. Yet the line between private and public was vague given that many were advertised in the press.[106] Indeed there are some that were advertised with Schubert's music a part of the programme. Below is a simplified extract from Appendices 2 and 3 showing these concerts for ease of reference. It is only his songs that appear at these types of venues, apart from two Impromptus from Op. 142 (D935).

Table 4: Performances of Schubert in Private Concerts

Piece	Performer (first name given where possible)	Place of Concert	Date of Concert
'Quando avvolto' ['Ständchen']	Nicholas Ivanoff	residence of R. Parnther	26 June 1839
'Serenade' ['Ständchen']	Franz Liszt	residence of Mrs Grote	29 July 1841
title unknown	Lutzer and Joseph Staudigl	residence of Hon. Colonel & Mrs Leicester Stanhope	29 June 1842
title unknown - a melody	Apollinaire de Kontski (violin)	residence of Madame Dulcken	16 July 1849

[104] *The Times*, 20 January 1863.
[105] *Era*, 10 February 1866.
[106] On ambiguities between private and public concerts, see Bashford, *Pursuit*, 102. On advertising private concerts in the press, see Bashford, *Pursuit*, 111.

‘Der Nen dierigen [sic]’ [‘Der Neugierige’] [?]	Reichardt	residence of Lady Vassal Webster	30 May 1851
‘Der Wanderer’ arr. Liszt	Zerdahelyi	residence of Mrs Milner Gibson	16 April 1853
‘Lob der Tränen’	Pulszky and Lichtenstein	residence of Sir Joshua and Lady Walmsley	19 July 1853
‘Ave Maria’ and ‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	Madame Szezepanowska	residence of Madame Szezepanowska	29 Aug 1854
‘Ave Maria’ and ‘Der Wanderer’	Lemmens-Sherrington (‘Ave Maria’), Winn (‘Der Wanderer’)	residence of Arabella Goddard	24 Feb 1857
‘Ave Maria’	Madame Anichini	residence of Mr Wolley	22 June 1857
nothing specific-romance	Lucchesi	residence of Marchioness of Downshire	26 June 1858
Impromptu in B flat major, No. 3, Op. 142 (D935)	Charles Hallé	residence of Charles Hallé	31 May 1860
‘Ave Maria’	Marian Moss	residence of Prosper Sainton	29 May 1861
‘Der Wanderer’	Dalle Aste	residence of Prosper Sainton	12 June 1861
‘Der Neugierige’, ‘Ungeduld’ and ‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	Elvira Behrens, Allan Irving (‘Wanderer’)	residence of Herr Wilhelm Ganz	22 June 1864
Impromptu, Op. 142 (D935)	Anna Molique	residence of the Marquis Townshend	30 May 1865
nothing specific		residence of the Countess Liedekerke-Beaufort	no date - circa 1 April 1866
‘Who is Sylvia?’ [‘An Silvia’]	Julia Derby	residence of Mr F. Kingsbury	8 Nov 1866

There is a range of performers from those who are well known (many of which have already been discussed) to those lesser-known musicians. Yet given this date range incorporated into this table, there are not a lot of performances of Schubert’s music – eighteen in total. This is surprising given that much of Schubert’s repertoire is perfect for this type of small setting. Yet perhaps it is due to the unclear dividing line between public and private concerts. Bashford notes that there is a lack of documentary evidence of domestic music making. Furthermore, evidence suggests that there was a decline in

performances of 'chamber music by leading professional musicians in the houses of wealthy, often aristocratic amateurs.' [107] Conflicting data emerges whereby it appears that the trend in the first half of the century was towards technical display that one could find in operatic arias, for instance, rather than serious chamber music, yet by the 1830s and 1840s there were several aristocrats who had established reputations in this serious genre.[108] The data on Schubert's music indicates a desire for his more popular Lieder, but the lack of his chamber works is surprising and thus suggests that there is simply little recorded evidence as Bashford suggests.

The question of what private concert hosts prefer to programme apart from Schubert is difficult to answer. David Tunley explains the difficulty in investigating repertoires of salon music in his work on Parisian salons, yet the case may also be made for England. The only evidence of the salons is in the periodicals, apart from occasional diaries and letters. Reports are often incomplete and inconsistent and sometimes 'skewed' as in the cases of a colleague's work being performed at the concert in question.[109] Looking at the reports of the concerts in which Schubert's music was performed, presents a highly varied picture of salon repertoires. There are those programmes, which feature mostly arias from works by Donizetti and Mozart, as for example at the concerts on 26 June 1839 and 30 May 1851. The latter's programme was even described as being 'rich in *morceaux* of a light and popular character, chiefly selected from the modern Italian operas most in vogue.'[110] There are also reviews, which only mention Schubert and 'other works', implying his evident superiority.[111] There were also concerts more focused on chamber music. The concert on 16 April 1853, for example, was described as a 'tasteful melange of chamber music, both vocal and instrumental', yet named few pieces apart from Liszt's arrangement of 'Der Wanderer',[112] and therefore little is known about the chamber works presented at this concert. The write-up on the 19 July 1853 concert provides more detail. 'Lob der Tränen' was placed alongside a 'Grand Rondeau Brillant' by Weber, a Presto in F sharp minor by Mendelssohn and a sonata by Scarlatti.[113] The concert on 24 February 1857, which saw two well-known Schubert Lieder performed, also contained a Beethoven sonata,

[107] Bashford, *Public Chamber-Music Concerts*, 54-55. David Tunley also notes the blurred lines between public and private concerts in specific reference to Parisian musical life; David Tunley, *Salons, Singers and Songs: A Background to Romantic French Song, 1830-1870* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), vii-viii.
[108] Bashford, *Public Chamber-Music Concerts*, 55 and 59.
[109] Tunley, *Salons, Singers and Songs*, viii.
[110] *The Times*, 31 May 1851. Italics original.
[111] *Lady's Newspaper*, 21 July 1849. See also *The Times*, 1 July 1842 amongst others.
[112] *Daily News*, 18 April 1853.
[113] *Daily News*, 20 July 1853.

Mendelssohn's Trio in D minor, Op. 49, and some 'sketches' by Sterndale Bennett. Other songs were included, such as Beethoven's 'Kennst du das Land'.[114] This cursory look at some of the programmes of salons indicates varied programmes that escape generalisations. Further research, however, may show trends over time or by concert hosts, which in turn may demonstrate how Schubert's music fits into the overall picture of salon repertoires.

5. PERFORMANCE STANDARDS

Performance standards were a key factor in the reception of Schubert's instrumental works as the case of the Symphony No. 9 in C major performed by the Musical Society of London on 30 March 1859 reveals. This piece, which had been endorsed throughout Germany 'with the greatest enthusiasm', was received by a London audience consisting largely of musicians with the 'utmost coolness and indifference' and was given poor reviews. Many detractors found it 'unbearable [...] and wearisome [...] when nearly all the *tempi* are taken by far too slow.'[115] Carl Klindworth, a pianist, teacher and conductor,[116] wrote to the editor of *The Musical World* noting the differences between tempi at the Music Society as opposed to a concert in Germany:

Table 5: Differences in Tempi in Symphony No. 9 in C major		
Section/Movement	**Music Society**	**Germany**
Andante / Movement 1	Crotchet = 74	Crotchet = 96
Allegro, ma non troppo / Movement 1	Minim = 92	Minim = 132
Andante con moto / Movement 2	Quaver = 96	Quaver = 120
Allegro vivace / Movement 4	Minim = 76	Minim = 100

Of the third movement he says that the Allegro vivace was played quicker in Germany, but the Trio was slower, although no change was dictated by Schubert. Given some degree of error by Klindworth, there still remains a large difference. Additionally, in all the concerts on the Continent he heard, the first and last movements, and in some even the Scherzo and Trio, were played without any repeats, creating a disparity when

[114] *Daily News*, 26 February 1857. Beethoven's sonata is listed as Op. 3, however this must be an error as Op. 3 is the String Trio No. 1 in E flat major.
[115] Carl Klindworth, 'Schubert's Symphony', *Musical World*, Vol. 37, No. 15 (9 April 1859), 235.
[116] His first name is interchangeably spelled Carl or Karl. For further biographical information, see John Warrack and Alan Walker, 'Klindworth, Karl.' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/15153 (accessed 4 February 2010); and Anon., 'Karl Klindworth', *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 39, No. 666 (1 August 1898), 513-519.

considering one critic that complained: 'it is lengthy to a fault – a good hour being consumed between the first bar and the last.'[117]

Klindworth further found the performance lacking in clarity and he referred to several ambiguous passages – usually in the melody or the second subject. These would surely have affected reception and cause comments that criticized the performance for 'deficiency of order'.[118] He also listed dynamics and other markings indicated in the score which were not observed:

> Many more objections could be raised, – for instance, that at the beginning the horn always introduced a great '*sf,'* whilst it is only marked '*p>'* (this passage, should, moreover, be played by both horns) that the wind instruments never observed the '*pp*.'s [sic],' that decided '*cresc*.' were disregarded (as in the 3rd and 4th bars of the first Allegro, &c.), that, toward the end of the opening *Andante*, a most immoderate and unreasonable *accelerando* was introduced, which the composer never intended nor marked, that the *tempi* were changed arbitrarily.[119]

Most of these are minor issues on their own, but when combined would greatly alter any performance and presumably audience reaction. Notably, Klindworth was not surprised by the quality of this performance, as there was only one 'short' rehearsal.[120]

The validity of Klindworth's observations can, of course, be doubted. However, his time spent as a conductor would have given him the ability to discern a variety of issues. James William Davison had initially reviewed the concert and although he disliked the symphony, claimed that 'the execution of the Symphony was a miracle of perfection, and reflected the highest honour on every person engaged in it'.[121] It was this article that Klindworth was specifically addressing and following his complaints as to the quality of performance, Davison responded vehemently. Among his various points, Davison claimed that the orchestral players 'are famous fellows, and read at sight with as much ease and rapidity as caged lions devour their food, at the appointed hour, in the menagerie. But after that, like the lions, they want repose, in order to digest what they have devoured "at sight". More fatigue they will not willingly undergo, and heartily detest any conductor who would make them go twice carefully through any piece

[117] *The Times*, 31 March 1859.
[118] Anon., 'Musical Society of London', *Musical World*, Vol. 37, No. 14 (2 April 1859), 213. This article was ascribed to Davison by Charles Reid; see Charles Reid, *The Music Monster: A Biography of James William Davison, Music Critic of "The Times" of London 1846-1878 With Excerpts from His Critical Writings* (Quartet Books: London, 1984).
[119] Klindworth, 'Schubert's Symphony', 236. Italics original to source.
[120] Klindworth, 'Schubert's Symphony', 236.
[121] Anon., 'Musical Society of London', 214.

whatever, no matter what its difficulty.'[122] It is an image that was meant to amuse, but Davison was defensive on behalf of the musicians. Most orchestral performances were given only one rehearsal, which meant that pieces merely received a read-through. This appears to be a 'peculiar London practice, which was already subject to criticism by foreign visitors.'[123] Thus musicians, such as Ella, would have had to become competent at this skill.[124] Wagner, when he came to conduct for a season at the Philharmonic Society in 1855, tried to bargain for more rehearsal time, yet for this society it was not until the 1870s when this came to fruition.[125] As previously discussed, poor performances did finally become an issue and the Philharmonic Orchestra struggled partly due to this factor. Ehrlich notes that although critics failed to remark on the practice, a cause of bad concerts was the 'increasing employment of deputies' and that speaking of the Philharmonic orchestra implied a 'permanence or stability of personnel', which perhaps never existed and was surely disintegrating by the 1840s. Thus, the 'standard of playing on the night [of the concert] depended, among other factors, upon the number and quality of substitutes.'[126] One of the major reasons the Crystal Palace Orchestra was so successful (especially with Schubert as we will see in the following chapter) was due to the daily contact conductor August Manns had with the orchestra and to his 'painstaking', detailed rehearsals.[127] Thus, even with deputies the main orchestral body would have been able to support musicians less familiar with the piece. For Davison, though, to see London musicians sight-read was akin to watching the magnificence that was to witness lions demolish their food. Indeed it was this adherence to tradition and the fact that rehearsal time needed to be constrained due to finances that kept many societies from increasing rehearsals.[128]

Performance standards clearly affected Schubert's reception, especially due to the intrinsic nature of his extended works. Given that many of his pieces had a repetitive quality to them, slower tempos, which were necessary for sight-reading musicians, would

[122] Anon., [*Untitled Item]*, *Musical World*, Vol. 37, No. 15 (9 April 1859), 233. This article is also attributed to Davison by Reid.
[123] Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic*, 29.
[124] Bashford, *Pursuit*, 37.
[125] Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic*, 88 and 126. See also Richard Wagner, *On Conducting (Ueber das Dirigiren): A Treatise on Style in the Execution of Classical Music*, trans. Edward Dannreuther (London: William Reeves, 1919), 23.
[126] Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic*, 71.
[127] Musgrave, *Crystal Palace*, 74 and 50.
[128] Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic*, 82.

have drawn out an already longer work – as would following Schubert's repeats.[129] It was, after all, the Symphony No. 9 in C major that caused Schumann to write of its 'heavenly length',[130] which began 'a long tradition of apologizing for this perceived flaw: yes, the music is too long, but it is heavenly. The notion of heavenly length became a way to express the idea of beauty prolonged solely for its own sake, to acknowledge the goodness of such beauty without fully condoning the fact that it goes on for so long in Schubert's music.'[131] Indeed, his works have continually been criticized for being too long and too repetitive.[132] What makes them long is the common usage of three techniques: repeating large sections of material either literally or with one factor changed, length of themes and the notes which in 'their motivic content and shape project a sense of lengthiness.'[133] Yet in the case of Beethoven, his lengthiness 'is said to be justified by an often monumentalized process of development and transformation – Beethoven needs his great expanses in order to establish and then complete a momentous global agenda.'[134] In Schubert's case the length of his works were often perceived as a structural weakness.[135] Certainly, this seems to be the case in Victorian England whereby Beethoven's heroic structures were revered and Schubert's extended forms criticised.[136]

The period 1850 to 1865 is remarkable for the immense growth of Schubert's fame from a 'mere' song composer to one who was known also for his extended works. This change was the result of not only various individual performers, but also of powerful societies which frequently included Schubert in their programme. In this manner societies acted as agents, whereby other living composers were able to build their reputation during their

[129] There are modern debates as to whether or not take Schubert's repeats in performances; see, for example, David Montgomery's *Franz Schubert's Music in Performance: Compositional Ideas, Notational Intent, Historical Realities, Pedagogical Foundations* (New York: Pendragon Press, 2010), 37-39.
[130] Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, 110.
[131] Scott Burnham, 'The "Heavenly Length" of Schubert's Music', *Ideas*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1999) http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/ideasv61/burnham.htm (accessed 2 July 2013).
[132] See Burnham, 'The "Heavenly Length"'.
[133] Burnham, 'The "Heavenly Length"'.
[134] Burnham, 'The "Heavenly Length"'.
[135] Susan Wollenberg, *Schubert's Fingerprints: Studies in the Instrumental Works* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 245. For analysis of a variety of instrumental works which demonstrate the purpose behind the lengthiness, see Wollenberg's *Schubert's Fingerprints*, 245-286.
[136] Burnham in 'The "Heavenly Length"' purports the idea of beauty for the sake of itself as what was implied by Schumann. Wollenberg argues that 'analysis of the factors that might justify those lengths [...] would include Schubert's skill in constructing forms within forms; his ability to recreate songlike structures in his instrumental music on a larger scale; his extended key schemes, together with his play on their possibilities of multiple meanings; his thematic construction and the variational processes he applied to his themes; and his motivic "networking"'; see Wollenberg, *Schubert's Fingerprints*, 245-246. The vocabulary often used to describe Schubert's instrumental works supports Burnham's analysis as more accurate for Victorian thought and opinions towards Schubert.

lifetime. Although performances for other composers helped their reception as well, Schubert's music required others to discover and repeatedly perform his work (and perform it well) to become known. However for Schubert, it was not a smooth transition to becoming known as an 'instrumental composer', namely due to criticisms surrounding his form and clarity. As the appendices and tables under discussion in this chapter demonstrate beyond the 1866 date given in the title, performances of Schubert's instrumental works and indeed his songs increased dramatically especially as the decade wore on and into the 1870s and 1880s.

CHAPTER III: SCHUBERT'S MUSIC AT THE CRYSTAL PALACE: A CASE STUDY

Not only was the Crystal Palace the biggest supporter of Schubert's music in Victorian England, it also became the 'foremost venue for public music-making in Britain' in the nineteenth century.[1] In 1854, the Crystal Palace Company founded a band which was to be housed at the venue. The band was first under the directorship of Henry Schallehn (1815-1891), but was soon taken over by August Manns (1825-1907) in July 1855. Manns initially trained as a wind and string player in a military band in Prussia. He arrived in London with an appointment as sub-conductor, E flat clarinettist and copyist for the band.[2] In its first year, the band had been severely criticised, inspiring Manns to improve and gradually convert it into a symphony orchestra, which first performed on 1 December 1855. Though George Grove (1820-1900), who was Secretary to the Crystal Palace Company, first thought the wind band was adequate, he soon fully supported Manns' initiatives and became instrumental in its transition. Their partnership was based on a simple philosophy – 'to inspire in the minds of the general, listening public "a sort of personal affection" for the great composers'.[3] Thus they created the Saturday Morning Concerts which ultimately ran from 1855 to 1901, the first thirty-six years of which will be our focus. These concerts included not only the canonical masters but also works that were seldom heard.[4] For many years, the Saturday Morning Concerts were the main source of classical music at 'affordable prices' in London.[5] Throughout Manns' conducting tenure at the Crystal Palace (1855-1901), he 'refined orchestral interpretation, [and] hugely extended the repertoire and frequency of performance'.[6] Furthermore the

[1] Dale, *Music Analysis*, 48.
[2] Schallehn passed Manns' band arrangements off as his own, Manns complained, and Schallehn fired him. Manns then went to the press. Grove, sympathetic to Manns, kept in communication with him. Schallehn was dismissed within a year; see Michael Musgrave, 'Themes of a Lifetime: The Many Interests of a Great Victorian,' *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 14.
[3] Percy M. Young, *George Grove, 1820-1900, A Biography* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan London Ltd: 1980). 66.
[4] Young, *Biography*, 65.
[5] Keith Horner, 'Manns, Sir August.' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/17664 (accessed 19 January 2009).
[6] Musgrave, 'Changing Values', 173-179, 169. Of its performers, Arthur Sullivan once commented that 'all the singers and players of the world are heard at one time or another at the C[rystal] P[alace]'; see Herbert Sullivan and Newman Flower, *Sir Arthur Sullivan: His Life, Letters, and Diaries* (London: Cassell, 1950), 73.

quality of performances became world-renowned,[7] thus making a large contribution to British musical life. In terms of Schubert, Manns and the Crystal Palace Orchestra were 'nationally and even internationally pre-eminent in the dissemination of the orchestral music' by the composer,[8] which can be evidenced by the sixteen national and world premieres of his music.[9]

Programme notes were an important element to the concerts, which began in 1856 with a request from Manns for Grove to write a few words about Mozart and his works to be performed. In an autobiographical speech in July 1880, Grove reminisced about how he 'wrote about the symphonies and concertos because I wished to make them clear to myself, and to discover the secret of the things that charmed me so; and then from that sprang a wish to make other amateurs see it in the same way.'[10] Grove was not musically educated. By age eight he had learned the basic elements of literacy from his sister, Bithiah, before boarding at Elwell's School.[11] He then went on to Clapham Grammar School, which he left in 1835 at age fifteen. At this point, Grove became an apprentice to civil engineer, Alexander Gordon.[12] Like other middle-class children, Grove was acquainted with music, mostly Handel, from his mother. Although he was to work as a civil engineer and despite little public music in Clapham, where he grew up, he kept his music interests alive. For example, the first guinea ever given to him was reportedly invested in a piano score of Handel's *Messiah* and as a teenager he frequently listened to Evensong at Westminster Abbey.[13] It was at a crossroads in his career in 1850 which found him, at the suggestion of colleagues, in the position of the Secretary to the Society of Arts. He was, in fact, the third engineer to take up this post.[14] In 1852 he became Secretary to the Crystal Palace Company. Because of his background, Grove's

[7] See Musgrave, 'Changing Values', 169. J. W. Davison wrote that the 1866-1867 season at the Palace produced 'a succession of orchestral performances without parallel in this country and unsurpassed in any other.' This same year saw advertisements for the Palace using such phrases as 'the world-renowned orchestra'; see Musgrave, *Crystal Palace*, 69.
[8] The same can be said of Schumann; see Musgrave, *Crystal Palace*, 96.
[9] These premieres became a source of pride; see Joseph Bennett, *Forty Years of Music 1865-1905* (London: Methuen & Co, 1908), 340.
[10] This speech was reproduced in part in: Charles L. Graves, *The Life & Letters of Sir George Grove, C.B.* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1903), 52. It is a particularly good example of Grove's philosophy of music performance and of his humbleness – 'My friend Sullivan, in his affection for me, has, I think, overrated the value of these analyses, and has also given me more credit in respect to the Crystal Palace music than I deserve. No doubt I have devoted myself very much to it, and perhaps I was the means of obtaining Mendelssohn's Reformation Symphony, and some works by Schubert's [sic], which, otherwise, we might not have been the first to play. But what is the use of possessing music, of analysing it, unless it is played to perfection? No, ladies and gentlemen, the great glory of the Crystal Palace music is the perfection in which it is played.'
[11] Young, *Biography*, 16.
[12] Young, *Biography*, 27.
[13] Young, *Biography*, 28-30.
[14] Young, *Biography*, 52-53.

intended reader of the programme notes, therefore, was someone not musically trained yet passionate about the field. The notes crept in slowly, appearing regularly in the mid 1860s. They were sold on the day, and as such, would probably be read either directly before the performance, during the intervals, or even during the concert.[15]

The seasons' programmes were issued with continuous pagination, implying that they were collected and kept for future reference. They often served as a recall for the music, since piano transcriptions were the only other way (short of attending another concert) to re-hear orchestral music.[16] Grove's programme notes tended to be longer than those of other writers and usually included biographical information and historical placement of the piece in both the composers' œuvre and in terms of current research and performance. The analyses initially focused on interpretations of the score and typically set out the form of the work, often including musical examples of themes, as was common in the later nineteenth century, with frequent comments on its similarities to other works. Thus, the thematic relationships were placed into a historical rather than a systematic context.[17] These analyses were usually realized through 'the animation of musical processes' meaning that Grove tended to explain the pieces in terms of emotions and descriptive commentaries in a manner which anthropomorphised the music and 'result[ed] in a highly elaborate narrative style that abound[ed] in metaphor and simile.'[18] Musgrave described them as bearing a resemblance to a 'progress report on the state of discovery, an educational dimension further apparent through his [Grove's] quoting of his sources and recommendations for further reading.'[19]

Grove was not the sole writer of programme notes for the Palace, often enlisting the help of Manns, among others, yet those on Schubert were predominantly written by him.[20] Grove's programme notes reached large numbers of concert-goers, not just because of the extensive readership during concerts, but also because they were frequently used in various other societies' programmes. For example, the Reid Chair of Music, Herbert Oakeley, borrowed Grove's note on Beethoven's Symphony No. 2 in D major, Op. 36. Additionally, Oakeley's notes on Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 5 in E flat major, Op. 73, were largely compiled from Grove.[21] The notes for Schubert's

[15] Bashford, 'Not Just "G."', 117 and 132. Bashford does not give the precise start date of regular programme notes at the Crystal Palace; by 1867 they seem to appear for most, if not all, concerts.
[16] See Bashford, 'Not Just "G."',131.
[17] See Dale, *Music Analysis,* 50-60.
[18] Dale, *Music Analysis*, 57.
[19] Musgrave, 'The Making of a Scholar', 88.
[20] Some of the programme notes are left unsigned and, as such, I will carefully note which ones lack any signature.
[21] Dale, *Music Analysis*, 41.

Entr'acte from *Rosamunde* (performed in Edinburgh in 1869) consisted of quotations from Grove's notes of the previous year and from an unnamed critic's review of a performance at the Palace in 1866.[22] Grove even offered his notes to Theodore Thomas in Cincinnati, Ohio.[23] Having examined all the programme notes housed at the Royal College Music Library, it is apparent that Grove frequently reused his programme notes. There were frequent annotations in pen or pencil on the older concert programmes and some of these alterations are found in later versions. Although minor changes did occur, these tended to be more grammatical than content based.[24]

Given the success of the concerts along with the programme notes, a close study of the Crystal Palace's concerts featuring Schubert provide a poignant case study in Schubert's English reception. Of the surviving records of the Crystal Palace, little exists pre-1867 and, therefore, much of this chapter will focus on post-1867. Programme notes will be discussed in a topical manner and particular emphasis will be given to the premieres, which will be supplemented by reviews in periodicals.

1. SCHUBERT'S REPERTOIRE AT THE CRYSTAL PALACE

The Schubert repertoire at the Crystal Palace was wide-ranging, encompassing chamber music, songs and orchestral works. It even included the odd choir piece as can be seen from the documents in Appendix 9, which lists the works performed at the Crystal Palace. The chamber music performed here was not as varied compared with other contemporary societies. Included in this segment of the repertoire was the Fantasy in C major, Op. 15 (D760), performed here twice, and only played elsewhere at the Hallé concerts often in Liszt's arrangement as was done at the Crystal Palace. The Octet (D803) in its entirety was performed once, and the Theme and Variations was played on its own on a separate occasion. The variations from the Quartet in D minor (D810) were also performed twice. Apart from these, little else was played. Chamber music performers included such notable names as Charles Hallé, Ernst Pauer, Hans von Bülow (1830-1894) and Marie Krebs (1851-1901). Although sporadically played, the majority of chamber works were performed in the 1870s.

[22] Dale, *Music Analysis*, 41.
[23] See Bashford, 'Not Just "G."', 125-126.
[24] See the Crystal Palace Programme Notes (specifically those from 1867-1881) which were once owned by Grove and are now housed at the RCM library. Due to a fire in 1936 which destroyed the Crystal Palace and its archives, the programmes are not found in complete runs. Additional programmes can be found at the British Library, Bromley and West Norwood public libraries, and the Henry Watson Music Library in Manchester (Lloyd, 'Ephemera', 344). Further study on these changes could provide useful information on Grove, but do not fall within the scope of this study.

Despite the large space, numerous songs were performed at the Crystal Palace, often with piano accompaniment. They were, after all, good programming pieces as little rehearsal was needed. Like elsewhere, the more popular Lieder included 'Ständchen', 'Der Wanderer', 'Erlkönig' and 'Ave Maria'. Yet dissimilarly, 'Heidenröslein' and *Mirjams Siegesgesang* had at least four performances each at the Crystal Palace.

As at other societies, the singers varied. English tenor Edward Lloyd (1845-1927) performed at least eleven times at the Crystal Palace, with his most popular piece being 'Ständchen', but always sung in English. American singer Antoinette Sterling (1850-1904) was another common name at the Crystal Palace. Of her six performances listed in Appendix 9, all were of different songs. Other well-known names included English soprano Helen Lemmens-Sherrington (1834-1906), German baritone George Henschel (1850-1934) and English baritone Sir Charles Santley (1834-1922).

There is a general increase in the number of Schubert's songs performed at the Crystal Palace. Yet there is a large cluster from 1873 to 1877: in these years alone there were over thirty-five songs performed. This is the greatest number of Schubert songs in any five-year spread and strikingly this is also when there was an increase in chamber work by this composer. There is a general increase in the performance of orchestral works in this period too, though two years in particular contained the most works of this type, namely 1866 and 1881. Generally, the mid-1870s see a large number of Schubert's pieces performed.

Schubert's orchestral works received great attention at the Crystal Palace. That this became the case is largely due to Manns, as Grove was initially hesitant to perform little-known Schubert. In fact, Manns was 'frequently urged to avoid the works of unknown and unappreciated composers, amongst whom at that time were Schubert and Schumann.'[25] It was a rehearsal of Symphony No. 9 in C major, which caused Grove to become enthusiastic about Schubert's music. However, he did not think that the work would be appreciated by the Crystal Palace audience.[26] Apart from three early performances of the work,[27] it was not performed again until 1866. However, it would become one of the most popular pieces at the society. In a plebiscite taken at the end of the 1879-1880 season, it ranked number three in the orchestral category.[28] Coming in first

[25] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 181, who cites F.G. Edwards, 'Schubert's Music in England', *Musical Times*, Vol. 38 (1 February 1897), 83-84.
[26] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 181.
[27] Musgrave says two performances occurred on 5 April 1856 and 11 July 1857, however the *Daily News* reported a further concert of the piece happening on 19 November 1859; see Musgrave, *Crystal Palace*, 97 and *Daily News*, 21 November 1859.
[28] Musgrave, *Crystal Palace*, 120; and Colin Eatock, *Mendelssohn and Victorian England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 138.

place was Beethoven's Symphony No. 6 in F major, followed by Mendelssohn's Symphony No. 4 in A major. In fourth and fifth places respectively were Beethoven's Symphony No. 5 in C minor and Symphony No. 3 in E flat major. Schubert's other most popular pieces programmed at the Crystal Palace were the Overtures to *Alfonso und Estrella, Rosamunde,* and Symphony No. 8 in B minor. These symphonies were so popular that according to Musgrave they were performed 'annually [...] almost without exception'. In fact, they were 'more frequently performed and more closely associated with the Palace than with any other institution.'[29]

The orchestral repertoire, however, had a slow start at the Crystal Palace. The table below summarizes from Appendix 9 the number of orchestral performances by year.

Table 6 : Yearly Number of Orchestral Performances at the Crystal Palace

Year	Number of Orchestral Works	Year	Number of Orchestral Works
1855	0	1870	1
1856	3	1871	4
1857	2	1872	1
1858	0	1873	4
1859	2	1874	3
1860	1	1875	4
1861	1	1876	5
1862	0	1877	2
1863	0	1878	1
1864	0	1879	2
1865	0	1880	2
1866	10	1881	8
1867	2	1882	3
1868	3	1883	2
1869	4	-	-

Despite Grove's hesitation over programming Schubert, there were other issues to contend with when choosing repertoire. The low performance numbers in the beginning

[29] Musgrave, *Crystal Palace*, 97.

can also be attributed to the musicians' availability. As it was a non-professional band, this limited the repertoire. According to Grove, it was also very small, which especially hindered the early reception of Symphony No. 9.[30] The possibility also exists that in the early days before Manns had enough time to train the orchestra, the musicians were simply unable to play such extended works with technical assurance.

Critic Joseph Bennett, reflected upon the Saturday Concerts at the Crystal Palace, writing:

> All that was great in the London musical world might have been seen at Victoria Station on the winter Saturdays, as the special trains were backing to the departure platforms. [The] [...] crowd [...] talked music, and in 1867-1868 principally Schubert, who then was, for the first time, shining in all the glory of his heaven-descended art. It was not a company of many opinions, but a band of worshippers, having one faith and one soul. And it was good to be among and of them.[31]

Yet, 1866 seemed to be the year in which the Crystal Palace delved into Schubert's orchestral music. Four out of ten of these performances were premieres. The trend continued into 1867 and 1868, when all of the orchestral works heard were premieres. Bennett recalled how numerous works unheard before were played at the Crystal Palace with 'loving care and received with fervent admiration'.[32] Indeed, the Crystal Palace Orchestra was known for its careful readings of scores. As we will see in due course, the premieres in this period were well received, though the term 'fervent' implies an intensity not found in the reviews in periodicals. Notwithstanding the fact that Bennett does correctly remember the pieces that were premiered, it is possible that his recollections were chronologically askew and that the year 1866 should have been included in his description of the crowds at Victoria Station. Nevertheless, these years were important for the Palace in promoting Schubert's works, specifically through premieres.

The premieres were what made the Crystal Palace stand apart from other societies. The table below highlights these performances.

[30] Kreissle, *Franz Schubert, Vol. 2*, 298.
[31] Bennett, *Forty Years*, 337.
[32] Bennett, *Forty Years*, 340.

Table 7: Premieres at the Crystal Palace[33]	
Date - d/m/y (1800s)	**Piece (in language on programme)**
05/04/56	Symphony No. 9 in C major
03/11/66	*Alfonso and Estrella* – Overture
10/11/66	Entr'acte No. 1 and No. 3 from *Rosamunde*
01/12/66	Italian Overture in C major, Op. 170 (D590)
01/12/66	Offertorium, *Salve Regina*
16/03/67	Ballet No. 1 and No. 2 from *Rosamunde*
06/04/67	Symphony No. 8 in B minor
28/02/68	Symphony No. 4 in C minor (MS)
14/11/68	*The Song of Miriam* (orch. Lachner)
21/11/68	Symphony No. 6 in C major (MS)
09/11/69	*Die beiden Freunde von Salamanka* - Overture
01/02/73	Symphony No. 5 in B flat major
20/10/77	Symphony No. 2 in B flat major (MS)*
05/02/81	Symphony No. 1 in D major (MS)*
19/02/81	Symphony No. 3 in D major*
05/05/83	Symphony No. 7 in E major (realized by John Barnett)

That the Crystal Palace was the English society to perform these pieces for the first time is down to Grove and his initiatives.

Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn's biography of Schubert, published in 1865, caught the attention of Grove.[34] Especially noteworthy was the book's music catalogue. As the Crystal Palace already had business with the Viennese music publisher, Spina, Grove contacted him and obtained: the Overture to *Alfonso und Estrella*, the Italian Overture in C major, Op. 170 (D590), as well as Entr'acte No. 1 and No. 3, and Ballet No. 1 and No. 2 from *Rosamunde*. Grove also received the Overture to *Fierrabras*, which was performed on 2 February 1867, yet this was not entirely new as it had been brought over first by Mendelssohn, who conducted the piece with the Philharmonic

[33] Musgrave, *Crystal Palace*, 222-226. World premieres noted by an asterisk.
[34] Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn, *Franz Schubert* (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1865). This book appeared in an abridged format translated by Edward Wilberforce in 1866 and then in complete translation by Arthur Duke Coleridge in 1869; see Edward Wilberforce, *Franz Schubert: A Musical Biography: From the German of Dr Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn* (London: W.H. Allen & Co, 1866) and Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn, *The Life of Franz Schubert*, trans. Arthur Duke Coleridge (London: Longmans, Green, and Co.: 1869). I refer to Coleridge's translation throughout this thesis.

Society on 10 June 1844. Grove also asked around for other Schubert symphonies, but to no avail.

In 1867, Grove travelled with Arthur Sullivan (1842-1900) to Vienna to meet with Schubert's nephew, Eduard Schneider. In Schneider's office closet they found Symphonies Nos. 1-4 and No. 6. Grove found No. 5 and No. 7 to be at the homes of Herbeck and Paul Mendelssohn, Felix's brother, respectively. Symphony No. 8 was published and not given to the Crystal Palace, but as the manuscript was with Johann von Herbeck (1831-1877), the Imperial Capellmeister and leader of the Vienna Concert Orchestra, with whom Grove was in contact, it is possible that Grove encouraged the publication. Schneider also had the manuscripts for *Des Teufels Lustschloss*, *Fernando*, *Der vierjährige Posten*, *Die Freunde von Salamanka*, and the Mass in F major (D105), amongst others including the partbooks for the whole of *Rosamunde*. Most remarkable about these discoveries is the neglect by others in that no one, it seems, went looking for them; not even Mendelssohn or Schumann. Whilst in Vienna, Grove also obtained music from Spina.[35] Grove was allowed to make copies of much of the music he saw and subsequently to perform it at the Crystal Palace. However, they were often restricted in sharing this music with other organizations: 'In the case of the *Rosamunde*' ballet music, and the Fourth and Sixth Symphonies – all in MS. – we [the Crystal Palace] are prohibited from allowing copies to be taken, or performances made from our copies, without express permission.'[36] Yet it was not just Schneider, but also Spina issuing restrictions.[37] Although not helpful in disseminating Schubert's music, it did mean that the Crystal Palace had performance rights over these pieces giving them their English and, in some cases, their world premieres, which in turn helped to make the society more well-known.[38]

As a result of these premieres, the Crystal Palace is unrivalled in the dissemination of Schubert's music in England at this time. The Musical Union and the Monday Popular Concerts focussed on chamber works and songs. The Philharmonic and New Philharmonic Societies were not progressive in their programming of Schubert's works. The Hallé concerts, which featured chamber works, songs, and orchestral music, is the only organization that comes close to the Crystal Palace. Like the Crystal Palace, the most commonly performed works were pieces from *Rosamunde* and Symphonies No.

[35] Kreissle, *Franz Schubert*, *Vol. 2*, 297-331. For details on the music received from Spina, see p.329.
[36] Kreissle, *Franz Schubert*, *Vol. 2*, 325.
[37] Kreissle, *Franz Schubert*, *Vol. 2*, 325. See also Musgrave, *Crystal Palace* , 97.
[38] The Crystal Palace's programme notes frequently give a word of thanks for receipt of the music from Spina and Schneider; see for instance the Crystal Palace Programme Notes of 16 March 1867, 3 October 1868, and 21 November 1868.

8 in B minor and No. 9 in C major. Yet they never performed any other symphonies. Thus the Crystal Palace with its performances of Schubert's orchestral works stood apart from the rest and did the most for Schubert's English reception history.

2. PROGRAMME NOTES ON SCHUBERT'S MUSIC AT THE CRYSTAL PALACE

Part of the success of Schubert at the Crystal Palace concerts stems from the programme notes, which helped shape the listeners' response to the music. One way to help achieve a positive reaction was to make the composer more personable, and thus the writing about his life was a prominent feature. Moreover, an understanding of the music could come from an appreciation of the composer's life and personality. Of the Allegro from Symphony No. 8 in B minor, Grove claimed that

> it cannot fail to be a true picture of the mind and heart of its composer, what a combination of the most innocent gaiety with the most terrible gloom and distress must have reigned therein! And who can wonder? Conceive oneself – if possible – the possessor of gifts such as those which he possessed; imagination in its grandest, and wildest, and most delicate flights; tenderness to a degree which no poet or composer ever surpassed, and for proof of which we need turn to no other work than that now before us; melody such as few musicians have been gifted with; facility and power of expression which Mozart himself might have envied, and yet all these rich endowments not sufficing to give him his proper place on earth among his fellows or even to lift him above the cares and miseries of the lowest station in life! Conceive if we can the distress of a man thus gifted and thus placed, and we shall no longer wonder at the tones alternately so touching, so wild, so artless, so gloomy, so furious, which appeal to us more or less from all Schubert's compositions, but from none perhaps so irresistibly as from this.[39]

For Grove, Schubert's life story and personal traits were encased within this work. Yet Grove does more than just relate the events of Schubert's life. He employs a strongly descriptive language to evoke sympathy and compassion.

At times, Grove's reading of life events into the music can be quite literal. Regarding the 'Tragic' Symphony No. 4 in C minor, Grove wrote that this symphony 'probably entombed the anxieties and disappointment attending his attempt and his failure to obtain the modest post of Teacher to the Music School at Laibach. By the end of September [1816], however, he had worked off all recollections of disappointment, and not a trace of any such feeling is to be found in [this] Symphony [No. 5 in Bb major].'[40] Some years later, Grove revised his theory in relation to the 'Tragic' Symphony No. 4 in C minor:

[39] Crystal Palace Programme Note, 26 April 1873.
[40] Crystal Palace Programme Note, 1 February 1873.

> There is nothing in it beyond its title to indicate that it was inspired by any specially tragic theme, or was the result of any severe private misfortune. Possibly it is the record of some passing love affair, which though "tragical" enough at the moment was soon forgotten (as one forgets at 19), and may even have melted away as the Symphony developed itself through his brain and fingers; or it is some pang of poverty, like that which dictated the letter to his brother, in which he begs for wherewithal to buy.[41]

The title 'Tragic' certainly left many people attempting to understand the piece from a biographical standpoint. As the title was given by Schubert some time after composition,[42] it is possible that the title has more to do with the key than with life events. Before equal temperament, keys were determined to have varying characteristics. Not only has the key of C minor been frequently described as plaintive and tender but also as, gloomy, sad, with extreme lamenting and misery. Francesco Galeazzi in his *Elementi teorico-pratici de musica* of 1796 called it a 'tragic key,' and Henri Weikert in *Kunstwörterbuch*, 1827, thought it had 'extremely lamenting feelings. It is the key of languishing, of longing, and of a love-sick person's sighs.'[43] Schubert's teacher, Salieri, was taught to set key characters by his teacher, Florian Leopold Gaßmann. Therefore, it is likely that he taught Schubert this process as well.[44] The above descriptions of gloom and sadness suit the mood that Schubert successfully evoked in the opening movement of the symphony and they are made more poignant in its agitated episodes. Strikingly, they also correspond with Grove's biographical readings of the symphony – lamenting his financial status, failed job application, and unfulfilled personal affairs.

Comparisons to Beethoven are frequent in the programme notes. In the discussion of *Rosamunde* on 16 March 1867, the anonymous author cited another critic who wrote that 'it is such a movement as we can only fancy one other composer imagining, but then Beethoven would have treated it in quite a different manner.'[45] Treating both composers on an equal footing was favourable to both Schubert and Beethoven. Regarding the Symphony No. 8 in B minor, Grove wrote that 'Schubert's sonatas, impromptus, moments musicales [sic], and other pianoforte works, are amongst the stock favourites at our most

---

[41] Crystal Palace Programme Note, 26 February 1881.
[42] Brown, *Schubert*, 52.
[43] Rita Katherine Steblin, *Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2002), 230-234. See these pages as well for further descriptions of C minor. Also see W. Wright Roberts, 'Key Quality', *Music and Letters*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (January 1930), 58-70; and Richard Taruskin, 'C-Minor Moods: The "Struggle and Victory" Narrative and Its Relationship to Four C-Minor Works of Beethoven', *Music in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 691-739.
[44] Steblin, *Key Characteristics*, 163.
[45] Crystal Palace Programme Note, 16 March 1867. This quotation is from *The Times*, 12 November 1866.

popular concerts, and divide the honours with those of Beethoven himself.'[46] Not only does this give a sense of what was best received, but it also quite literally puts Schubert on the same plane as Beethoven by pronouncing their equal popularity. Grove even seemed to place Schubert above Beethoven when he wrote of the Entr'acte in B minor from *Rosamunde* explaining that 'this truly impressive masterpiece, lofty and serious to a degree, which even Beethoven never surpassed, though also gloomy to a degree, which Beethoven rarely if ever allowed himself to indulge in publicly.'[47] Schumann's critiques (see Chapter I) entered into the programme notes as well. Grove, in his discussion of the Octet in F major (D803), mentioned Beethoven's Septet in E flat major, Op. 103, which Schubert used as a model, and described how the pieces are very different, as were the men themselves:

> Schubert's relation to Beethoven has been well compared to that of a woman to a man, and although the relationship of the sexes has been perhaps somewhat menaced by recent agitation, yet the general meaning of the comparison is easy to apprehend, and will remain true at any rate for a few years longer. Schubert is more impulsive, more communicative, more diffuse, more plastic, perhaps more tender – or often tender – than Beethoven; while he is less on his guard, less reserved, less economical of means to ends, less sternly determined to reach the one end in view. [...] But in melody, in harmony, in effect, in power of enchaining and entrancing the hearer, and of attaching him to the composer, there is very little to choose between these, the two greatest musicians since the Revolution.[48]

Although Schumann was not cited as a source, Grove was undoubtedly referencing his ideas as discussed in Chapter I. It also seems that Grove now deemed it important to defend Schubert and his music, whereas in the earlier commentary this was unnecessary. Although Grove felt that the comparison between these two composers as man and woman would only last for a few more years, this turned out not to be the case as he used it himself some nine years later in his article on Schubert in the *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. This was not the only influence Schumann's writings had on Grove. Regarding the Andante of the Symphony in C major arranged by Josef Joachim and originally known as the Grand Duo, Op. 140 (D812), he contended that the movement, 'as Schumann remarks, has a strong affinity to that in Beethoven's second symphony, not only in its general tone, but in particular passages, and yet as he also remarks, a more original inspiration could hardly be found.'[49] There is an element of defence of Schubert's music against unoriginality within this citation. The question of Schubert's originality was

[46] Crystal Palace Programme Note, 17 October 1868.
[47] Crystal Palace Programme Note, 1 November 1873.
[48] Crystal Palace Programme Note, 14 March 1874.
[49] Crystal Palace Programme Note, 4 March 1876.

a concern to Grove and in particular with regard to his early instrumental works, such as his symphonies, and will be examined more closely in the ensuing pages.

Indeed there is a high level of promotion of Schubert's music throughout the programme notes ranging from the more subtle approach, as in the case of comparison to Beethoven and Haydn, to a direct endorsement. In the note of 12 February 1870, Grove claimed that the Overture to *Alfonso und Estrella* 'deserves to be better known than it is.'[50] Since its premiere on 3 November 1866 it had been printed 'both in score and parts, and is well worth the attention of conductors and givers of concerts.'[51] This promotion is again made, word for word, six years later.[52]

Sometimes Grove's endorsement of Schubert took the form of a direct counterargument in an attempt to shape listeners' responses. For a performance of the notorious Symphony No. 9 in C major, Grove maintained that Schubert had a

> wealth of invention and a variety of treatment, a command over the resources of the orchestra, and a tremendous energy, which makes it [Symphony No. 9 in C major] one of the most astonishing productions in the world repertoire of music. No doubt its length is a certain drawback to its general acceptance; and [sic] no one who has such acquaintance with the symphony, and who listens to music for the purpose of hearing beautiful thoughts and experiencing delightful emotions, will find it a moment too long. Extension was a quality of Schubert's artistic nature as much as compression was of Beethoven's; and we must take him as we find him, and be thankful for the possession. To be long is not always to be tedious, and a piece of music, like a poem, may be long because it contains a great number of fine themes treated with infinite variety and ever-fresh charm.[53]

Beauty for its own sake was an idea to which Grove subscribed and thus he advanced this concept as a method for appreciating this piece. Grove's argument worked for at least one critic who argued that 'its length has by some people been found to be an objection, but we do not consider that it is, as some works from the same hand certainly are, chargeable with this fault.' Furthermore, the critic claimed that the performance was 'magnificent, and we doubt whether any of the audience would have wished it shortened by a single bar.'[54] Grove's commentary seemed to have an effect on the audience as the piece gradually became one of Schubert's most popular at the Crystal Palace.

---

[50] Crystal Palace Programme Note, 12 February 1870.
[51] Crystal Palace Programme Note, 12 February 1870.
[52] See Crystal Palace Programme Note, 12 February 1876.
[53] Crystal Palace Programme Note, 15 April 1871.
[54] *Examiner*, 22 April 1871. In fact the author was a great supporter of the work which caused him to argue that the piece 'should teach caution to the critics who are ever ready to condemn any new development because it is not in accordance with the existing canons of art.'

Yet Grove's promotion of Schubert's music sometimes occurred behind the scenes. On at least one occasion Grove collaborated with Arthur Sullivan in the writing of a programme note; it is unknown how many other programme notes of Grove's (if any) were the result of this type of collaboration.[55] Frederick George Edwards, who was music critic and editor of *The Musical Times* from 1897 to 1909, found an essay titled *Notes on Schubert's Overture in Italian Style* 'tucked' into a programme for the 14 February 1874 concert at which the piece was performed.[56] Sherr argues that this autograph was conceived as a draft or notes for Grove to use. Given the similarities of content between Sullivan's essay and Grove's notes, Sherr's argument seems plausible. However, programme notes are not designed to criticize the work about to be performed and, therefore, the purpose of Sullivan's writing for their use in programme notes is contentious. More likely, this was an essay of Sullivan's that he had written for another purpose, which he then let Grove use. The result is that whilst Grove used the majority of Sullivan's ideas rejecting some and formulating his own, the emphasis was frequently altered. For instance, Sullivan began: 'The *first* thing that strikes one in spite of its general delicacy in workmanship is a feeling of *commonplaceness* about it. The *second*, the utter absence of a new phrase or of novel treatment of a phrase.'[57] Unsurprisingly, Grove did not employ these sentences. Further on Sullivan wrote: 'The next point of resemblance is the frequent employment [...] of working up [...] a phrase of one or two bars from a "piano" to a "fortissimo." But with Rossini, trivial as are the means employed, it always produces a really fine effect. The same cannot be said of Schubert's imitation.'[58] Whilst, Grove alters the wording of the first sentence, the second sentence does not appear, and the result is: 'Schubert was evidently working in a vein foreign to him, and while he reproduces Rossini's little peculiarities, he misses the effect Rossini never fails to obtain.'[59] This is a much more minor reproach (with a degree of understanding) for Schubert than Sullivan's. Grove did not harp on the problem and, instead, explained how Schubert 'could not help being himself through it all' – also mentioned by Sullivan.[60] Whichever way one chooses to interpret the relationship between the autograph and the

[55] Richard Sherr, 'Schubert, Sullivan and Grove', *Musical Times*, Vol. 121, No. 1650 (August 1980), 499. See this article for a reprint of both Sullivan's autograph and Grove's paraphrase.
[56] Overture in C major (D591). Sherr, 'Schubert, Sullivan and Grove', *Musical Times*, 499. At the time of publication this programme was in the possession of Richard Sherr. Cambridge Music Library holds a concert programme from this date (no shelfmark); however the copy at The Royal College of Music Library, Box 3 (no shelfmark), is most likely Grove's copy as it contains annotations that were used in later versions of this programme note.
[57] Sherr, 'Schubert, Sullivan and Grove', *Musical Times*, 500. Italics are Sullivan's.
[58] Sherr, 'Schubert, Sullivan and Grove', *Musical Times*, 500.
[59] Sherr, 'Schubert, Sullivan and Grove', *Musical Times*, 500.
[60] Sherr, 'Schubert, Sullivan and Grove', *Musical Times*, 500.

programme note, uncertainty always remains. Regardless, Sullivan's autograph combined with the final product in the programme note demonstrates Grove's ability and drive to portray Schubert in the best possible way despite any perceived flaws.

3. SCHUBERT'S PREMIERES AT THE CRYSTAL PALACE

Examining the premieres' programme notes and the premieres' corresponding reviews in contemporary periodicals provides a unique look at the critical response. Given that they were premieres and therefore the pieces were never heard in England and in some cases never heard anywhere, the subsequent reactions in periodicals often have a touch of freshness and spontaneity considering that they are only based upon the single performance and Grove's programme notes rather than historical performances, reviews and other literary commentary already in existence. The following discussion will examine the effect of Grove's programme notes on the reactions in the press. Seven premieres, for which the programme notes still exist, will be examined. This includes the Ballets Nos. 1 and 2 from *Rosamunde*, *The Song of Miriam*, Symphony No. 6 in C major, Symphony No. 5 in B flat major, Symphony No. 2 in B flat major, Symphony No. 1 in D major, and Symphony No. 7 in E major.

The programme notes for the Ballets Nos. 1 and 2 from *Rosamunde*, performed on 16 March 1867, contain little to no biography of Schubert and focus more on musical description.[61] The reviews are succinct and similarly forego any biographical explanation of the scores. One article merely remarks that the Ballet No. 2 is 'full of clear melodious beauty, with a distinctly marked rhythm, suitable to its stage purpose.'[62] It appears that the Ballets were positively received, yet made no real impact as can be seen from the few performances in Appendix 9.

The programme note from the premiere of *The Song of Miriam* on 14 November 1868, similarly offers little biography. It simply reports the when and where of composition, first performance and publishing information.[63] The reviews are mixed, yet none include biographical details as part of their commentary. The *London Standard* noted its 'striking resemblance in style to Handel's writings.'[64] Yet the periodical claimed it a 'fine work' despite the non-exemplary performance by the choir. The *Examiner* was favourably supportive, maintaining that 'were any proof wanted of the genius and inspiration of Schubert it would be found in this his latest work, which is wrought out

[61] See Crystal Palace Programme Note, 16 March 1867.
[62] *Daily News*, 18 March 1867.
[63] Crystal Palace Programme Note, 14 November 1868.
[64] *London Standard*, 16 November 1868.

with the greatest felicity from the majestic opening symphony to its happy and most masterly conclusion.'[65] Remarkably, this critic wrote as if Schubert was alive and *The Song of Miriam* just recently composed. The *Pall Mall Gazette* was more condemning: 'To say his [Schubert's] work can be put in comparison with Handel's magnificent illustration of the same subject [*Israel in Egypt*] would be absurd.' More specifically the critic asserts that Schubert 'is scarcely equal to the subject. His music is noisy and bustling, but it lacks the necessary sublimity. All shortcomings are atoned for, however, in the Andantino [...]. The first part of this movement is so Handelian in style and treatment that Handel himself might have written it. But not even he would have conceived the idea of setting to a two-part canon on the unison that passage which describes Pharaoh's irreversible doom. The contrivance is original and wonderfully impressive.'[66] Comparison between Handel's *Israel in Egypt* and *The Song of Miriam* was, perhaps, inevitable. Despite this however, the overall tone in these commentaries is positive. Yet the *Pall Mall Gazette* takes things one step further arguing that the Finale was disappointing until it is remembered that 'at the time when it was written poor Schubert was labouring hard to secure the technical resources which a fugue demands. What he did under such circumstances is a marvel.' Here Grove is alluding to the counterpoint lessons which Schubert organized in the last few days of his life, and in this way firmly links his appreciation of Schubert's composition with biographical events.[67] The adjective 'poor' adds a touch of pity and, perhaps, sympathy intended to create a more favourable response in the reader. Noteworthy in both of these programme notes is the absence of overt references to Schubert's life, often present in great detail in the notes for instrumental works, and reviewers also did not include biographical details in their reviews. The following programme notes and reviews on the symphonies include a large amount of writing about Schubert's life implying its need to understand non-programmatic works.

Grove's programme note for the 12 November 1868 premiere of the Symphony No. 6 in C major discussed Schubert's mindset. More specifically, he claimed that the time of its creation was one of the happiest years in Schubert's life as he was enjoying a settled and remunerated position with the Esterházy family. Additionally he had access to 'comforts and amenities'.[68] This biographical event is closely linked to the symphony for one reviewer, writing: 'The sixth symphony [...] is throughout one stream of melodious brightness and sunny geniality; even the Andante, tenderly expressive as it is, being

[65] *Examiner*, 21 November 1868.
[66] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 December 1868.
[67] See Chapter V of the present thesis.
[68] Crystal Palace Programme Note, 21 November 1868.

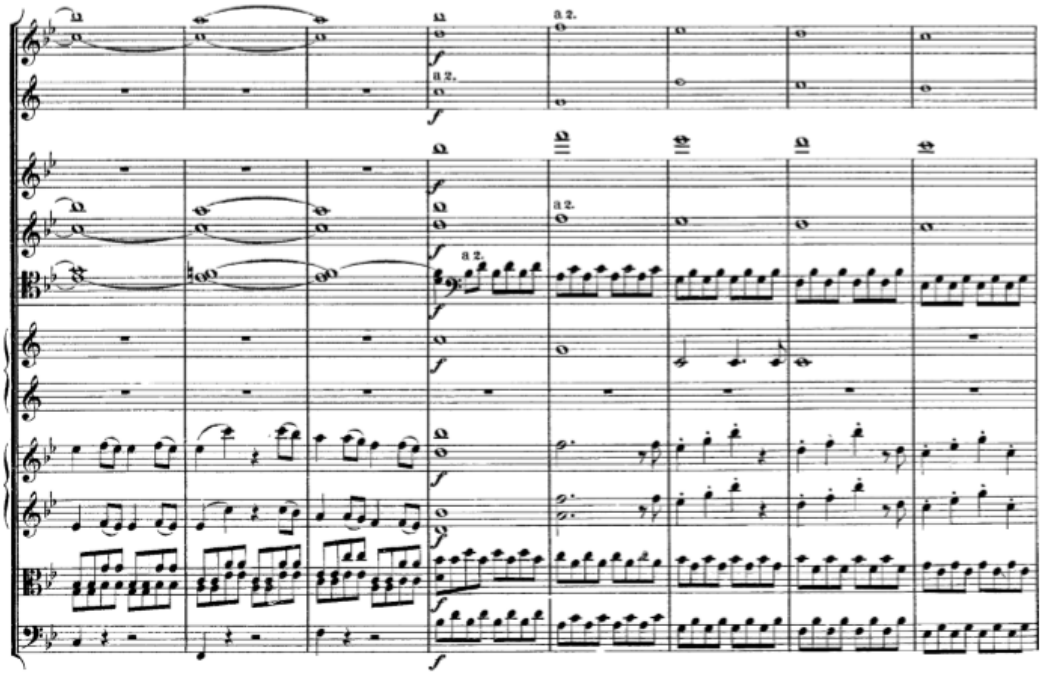
characterised by calm gladness. The work altogether appears to have been the product of Schubert's happiest period.' Additionally the Finale should be considered 'one of the most gladsome pieces that he ever penned.'[69] For another critic the link was made even more obvious: 'This symphony written in the sunniest epoch of Schubert's existence, bears the happiness of the composer's mind beaming in every phrase.'[70] For these writers, the events in Schubert's life were a way to understand the music. The symphony was positively received: 'the applause bestowed [...] on the work, the orchestra, and the conductor, was loud and continuous.'[71] Another critic described the pieces as a 'spring day. [...] It is a most lovely symphony, in parts almost too dreamy to be like mortal music; we could hear it again and again, and not tire, only wondering why it is that such delicious and masterly music could have lain unknown and unheard for so long a period.'[72] Although the symphony received rave reviews, it was rarely heard at the Crystal Palace.

There was a greater variety of responses to the premiere of Symphony No. 5 in B flat major on 1 February 1873 than for the previously discussed premieres. Though many take their lead from the programme note, most develop its ideas further. Of the Finale, the unknown author of the programme note claimed that it is 'perhaps hardly equal to the first two movements. Schubert himself is not so prominent, and if we have Haydn's gaiety we more than once catch a glimpse of Haydn's *Perruque*.'[73] Whilst only a mention of the performance was made in the *South London Chronicle* and little was said in the *Era*, the *Graphic* had more to say, specifically on comparisons with other composers, namely Haydn and Mozart rather than reflecting Schubert's individuality.[74] Though more classical in style and 'representative' of the Haydn-Mozart school, its 'ideas are more closely wrought out, and more succinctly expressed, than is the case with any of the accepted Schubertian compositions.' More specifically, the first three movements 'strongly reflect Mozart, without slavishly copying him; and the Finale [...] is an equally strong suggestion of Haydn'.[75] It is unclear what this author considered as the 'accepted Schubertian compositions.' However, they are most likely to be pieces such as the Overtures to *Alfonso und Estrella*, *Rosamunde*, and Symphonies Nos. 8 and 9. Unquestionably, these differ greatly from a Symphony such as No. 5 and so it is not surprising that this piece should have received a different response. The *Daily News* also intimated a lack of

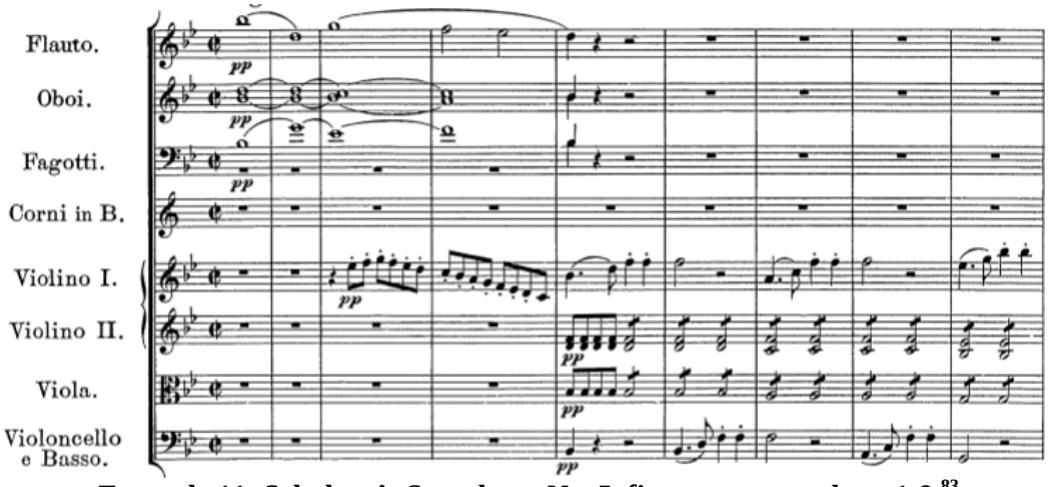
[69] *Daily News*, 24 November 1868.
[70] *London Standard*, 24 November 1868.
[71] *Daily News*, 24 November 1868.
[72] *Morning Post*, 23 November 1868.
[73] Crystal Palace Programme Note, 1 February 1873. Although the programme note was unsigned, it has the characteristics of Grove's writing style.
[74] See *South London Chronicle*, 8 February 1873 and *Era*, 9 February 1873.
[75] *Graphic*, 8 February 1873.

individuality and suggests that it was 'produced under the influence of a study of the brighter works of Mozart, whose style is – but without plagiarism – largely reflected.'[76] For both these critics, whilst Schubert mimicked other composers, it seemed important to note that it was not considered plagiarism. The *London Standard* put a more positive spin on the similarities, describing it as follows: 'Schubert's melodies partake of the suavity of Mozart, with all the piquancy, liveliness, and freshness of Haydn; but while in technical musical knowledge he was much inferior to the above-mentioned composers, he yet possessed a charm of beauty and spontaneity, which is incomparable.' Of Mozart, the author further noted that the Andante 'bears upon first hearing a singular resemblance to the Minuetto of Mozart's violin sonata in F major, but on close scrutiny the analogy is found to be but slight.'[77] Other periodicals such as the *Morning Post* kept it simple: 'Of a style similar to that of Haydn, the symphony delighted all hearers. The sweet simplicity of melody and rhythm, the neatness of phrasing, the charm of instrumentation, and the fanciful design, made it readily acceptable.'[78] The symphony does indeed hark back to the pre-Beethovian symphonists, such as Haydn and Mozart, last but not least in its small instrumentation comprising of flute, oboe, bassoon, horn, and strings. Its clear and 'transparent' sonata form also hints to the classical symphony.[79] Brian Newbold notes its Mozartian roots in the 'sense that melody reigns supreme and one could sing it through from beginning to end.'[80] He also argues that the first theme, beginning in bar five, adopts Mozart's bass line and harmony from bar twenty-eight following in Symphony No. 40 in G minor (K.550) (see example below).[81]

[76] *Daily News*, 5 February 1873.
[77] *London Standard*, 5 February 1873. It remains unclear which violin sonata by Mozart the reviewer had in mind.
[78] *Morning Post*, 3 February 1873.
[79] Brian Newbold, *Schubert: the Music and the Man* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 85.
[80] Newbold, *Schubert*, 85.
[81] Newbold, *Schubert*, 85.



Example 10: Mozart's Symphony No. 40, first movement, bars 25-32.[82]



Example 11: Schubert's Symphony No. 5, first movement, bars 1-9.[83]

The critics were accurate in their comparisons, however lacked specific references to prove their claims adequately. Whilst the association with Haydn and Mozart can be either helpful or detrimental, in the case of these reviews, it was relatively positive.

Whilst agreeing that the symphony contained traces of Haydn and Mozart, the *Pall Mall Gazette* took a more nuanced look at the role of biography in the interpretation

[82] Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, 'Symphony No. 40', *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's Werke, Serie 8* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1880), bars 25-32.
[83] Franz Schubert, 'Symphony No. 5', *Franz Schubert's Werke, Serie I*, ed. Johannes Brahms (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1884), bars 1-9.

of music. Apart from the *London Standard,* which readily included a biography in its review of the concert, none of the other periodicals included it in their commentary. Its presence can be found in the programme notes which argued that though Symphony No. 4 could be seen to encompass 'anxieties and disappointments', there was 'not a trace of any such feeling to be found' in Symphony No. 5.[84] The *Pall Mall Gazette,* however, argued:

> Full of sympathy for Schubert, 'G' [Grove] is inclined to see in his music indications of his state of mind and even of his outward circumstances at the time of writing. Such speculations may be interesting, and it is often difficult to avoid making them. But great humourists have often been melancholy men, and poets in excellent spirits will sometimes indite the most despondent verses. [...] The idea, however, of reading a composer's life in his works is much more acceptable when applied broadly and to periods instead of mere incidents.[85]

The idea of not reading specific biographical incidents into the composer's work is a unique viewpoint and one that seemingly went unheeded by Grove or most other reviewers. Furthermore, those critics that relayed the biographical material never reinterpreted Grove's application to the music.

On 20 October 1877 the premiere of Symphony No. 2 in B flat major received a lukewarm response from critics. Grove's programme note promoted Schubert. He described Schubert's poverty in which a roll and an apple were luxuries. Grove wrote of how Schubert could never hope for a performance of his works due to the costs involved, yet he carried on writing music because 'he could not help it'.[86] Of the work itself, Grove argued that the Finale was the best movement and 'remarkable' considering Schubert's young age of seventeen. Despite the subjects being 'undoubtedly like Haydn's' one could find 'individuality in the manner of their treatment, and especially in the strength of the rhythm which pervade the movement, which is all Schubert's own.'[87] Thus, Grove implied that Schubert did not plagiarise and originality could be found within the work. Grove pointed out that comparing this Finale with that of Symphony No. 9 in C major, one realized the growth and progress. Conversely however, this point indicates the weaknesses of Symphony No. 2.

The *Examiner* published a detailed review. Although the writer claimed the symphony could 'hardly be called an important addition [...] to the form [...], it is by no

[84] Crystal Palace Programme Note, 1 February 1873.
[85] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 February 1873. Though the programme note was unsigned, this critic asserted the authorship was Grove, which seems to be congruent with the writing style.
[86] Crystal Palace Programme Note, 20 October 1877.
[87] Crystal Palace Programme Note, 20 October 1877.

means without value.'[88] The value, according to the critic, lay with its ability to demonstrate Schubert's compositional development. Because of the symphony's placement as an early work, one should not expect 'a distinct original type of creativeness.' Contrary to Grove, this author claimed that the Finale contained characteristics of Beethoven's works. Moreover, the most original part of the symphony was the first movement, where one could find 'rapid staccato passages, lovely bits of melody of true Schubertian type, and here also we meet with a taste of that "heavenly length" which Schumann euphemistically attributes to his favourite composer.' Although mostly positive, the author argued that the worthiness of No. 2 within Schubert's œuvre was that of a study piece.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* was more positive. The article quoted from Grove directly: 'Of the whole of this work of Schubert's youth may be said what "G" [Grove] says of the last movement – that, compared with subsequent productions by the same master it is inferior to none in "energy and rhythm," in "tunefulness and grace," or in "the exuberant life with alike reigns throughout."'[89] Grove's influence can further be found in this author's opinions. The article claimed that if the first movements 'recall' Haydn or Mozart or both, the Finale though is largely Schubert's.[90] Again, though, the piece has elements of other composers. This author clearly expressed that it was still Schubert's and therefore unplagiarised.

The *London Standard* was more hesitant in its praise. Though Grove's influence is not as prominent in this article as with the previous one, the importance of understanding life events in appreciating Schubert's music is prevalent here. The article noted that 'there are few composers who have excited more steadfast admiration than Franz Schubert; partly by the force of his genius, partly on account of his sad history.'[91] Of Symphony No. 2, it was argued that it 'is disappointing to all but those who bear in mind the author's youth, and the circumstances attending it.' Thus, the author elicited sympathy from the biographical information, which appears to be paramount in establishing a positive reception for his works especially the ones likely to be severely criticised. Of the piece itself, the author complained of an 'unfortunate resemblance' to

[88] *Examiner*, 27 October 1877.
[89] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 26 October 1877.
[90] Comparisons to Haydn and Mozart with this piece continue in more recent scholarship. A. Peter Brown explains that in the first movement, bar 80 and following, Schubert combines 'two tendencies seen in the Viennese symphony: the deep contrasts of Mozart's works and the frequent homogeneity in Haydn's' where continuity is found in the accompaniment which extends the first theme and the transition and which provides contrast with the melody's long notes; see A. Peter Brown, *The Symphonic Repertoire, Volume II; The First Golden Age of the Viennese Symphony: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 587.
[91] *London Standard*, 22 October 1877.

the Overture to *Prometheus* by Beethoven. Indeed, the symphony's very first theme appears to be modelled on the first theme of Beethoven's Overture. In the first movement, Schubert creates four-bar phrases. The first is on the tonic in the strings, the second up one step, the third on the dominant, and the fourth on the tonic with all instruments playing. The Overture also has four-bar phrases, with the first beginning with the strings playing pianissimo in the tonic. The second phrase moves up a step, and the third differs from Schubert in that it moves up a step again. The fourth phrase, similarly, moves back to the tonic with all instruments on a fortissimo. Throughout the four sets of four-bar phrases, the dynamics are gradually increasing from pianissimo to fortissimo.[92]

The *London Standard* also noted the instrumentation as being merely 'nice', as it lacked 'anticipation of those delicious "dialogues" which afterwards became such prominent features of his orchestral works.' Despite these criticisms, the author argued that few composers working under similar circumstances could have created a work like the symphony at the same age of seventeen. Again, the need to understand the life story was vital in terms of appreciating the symphony.

The critique in the *Morning Post* of 22 October 1877 is striking for its unique argument. The author disliked Grove's claim that Schubert wrote 'because he could not help it', claiming that 'this is often the self-justificatory explanation of a child after the doing of some piece of mischief, and scarcely applicable to so important a work as a symphony.'[93] For this critic, a symphony was a serious piece of work. Although Grove's intention with this phrase, in context, seemed to imply that Schubert wrote despite the unlikelihood of a performance, out of context it could be taken to mean that it was completed with little thought. The author also argued that though the Crystal Palace has 'produced some beautiful gems by Schubert' previously unknown, it 'does not follow' that all of the pieces uncovered were 'of equal value or beauty'. The symphony itself was perceived as a 'poor thing', containing 'weak reflections of themes by Haydn and Mozart.' The critic argued that there was not a shred of individuality throughout the entire piece. Despite the negative critique, the idea that one should be more discerning in placing value upon compositions is one that is not found in other articles on Schubert.

Grove's programme note for the premiere of Symphony No. 1 in D major on 5 February 1881 is rather insignificant. He included only a brief biography and then moved quickly into a straightforward analysis.[94] Many of the reviews following the performance

[92] See Schubert, 'Symphony No. 2', bars 11-26; and Ludwig van Beethoven, 'Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus, Op. 43', *Ludwig van Beethoven's Werke, Serie 3* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1862-90), bars 17-32.
[93] *Morning Post*, 22 October 1877.
[94] Crystal Palace Programme Note, 5 February 1881.

are brief, yet positive. One claimed that the piece contained 'enough [...] originality, beauty, and charm, to place the budding genius already on a high pedestal.'[95] Another commented that despite it being written by a sixteen year old, it was 'interesting' with the special quality being the 'affluence of melody' throughout.[96] The *Daily News* was particularly positive regarding the symphony, adamantly claiming that it was 'replete with charm [...] and full of that spontaneous and fluent imagination which stands in such remarkable and agreeable contrast to any of the ambitious musical productions of Young Germany, in which pretentious shallowness and laborious effort are largely mistaken for metaphysical profundity and learned skill.'[97] That this author compared the piece to early works by others is noteworthy for its realization of the symphony as an early piece. This is articulated when the author notes that it lacked the 'individuality of style, the intensity of expression, or the mastery in constructive power' found in his later works; but regardless, the author noted its beauty throughout.

The *Pall Mall* was highly critical of the symphony. Although the work has segments that are 'worthy of the composer of *Rosamunde*, it is not equal in merit throughout', being 'built upon familiar lines perfected by Haydn.'[98] It is the Andante that excels, yet a 'falling off in quality is observable' in the Minuet and Trio, which has Mozart-like qualities, as does the Finale. For this author, Symphony No. 2 is better. The *Examiner*, which quoted directly from Grove in the explanation of how the symphony was obtained, focuses on Schubert's poverty as a stimulus for his compositions. Despite the utmost sentiment for Schubert's situation, the work was considered by this critic as 'unimportant'.[99] The criticism in the *Era* is largely based on the problems inherent in a first symphony written by an adolescent, namely that it lacked originality. Imitation of the usual composers, Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, can be found throughout, according to the critic. Yet the Andante can be seen as the movement containing the most individuality. The value of the symphony is in 'the light which it throws on the first awakening of genius,' where one can find 'gems of the delightful style and fluent melody.'[100] As early works by Schubert, the critiques of the first two symphonies largely focus on the degree of individuality found throughout and on the imitation of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, yet, unless specifically mentioned above, there is no mention of which pieces, style or anything more specific. Nevertheless, for Schubert's reception history, it was a good thing

[95] *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 6 February 1881.
[96] *Graphic*, 12 February 1881.
[97] *Daily News*, 7 February 1881.
[98] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 16 February 1881.
[99] *Examiner*, 12 February, 1881.
[100] *Era*, 12 February, 1881.

that these were produced later as it allowed audiences to get to know Schubert's more mature works first and judge the early works in that light. Therefore, none of these critiques are overly condemning for Schubert, implying the strength of Grove's programme note in shaping responses.

Symphony No. 7 in E major differs from the other symphonies in that it had been left incomplete and required realization, in this instance, by John Barnett. As such, Grove's notes focus mostly on the history and appearance of the autograph and analysis of the piece.[101] Consequently, the reviews concentrate on Barnett's orchestration and the work's true proximity to Schubert. The *London Standard* said it was 'in all senses favourable', despite its 'Beethovenish feeling'.[102] The *Pall Mall Gazette* claimed the subjects of the movements were 'characteristic of Schubert', whilst 'reminiscences of Schubert's manner' could be found in the orchestration. Yet it was felt that the piece would 'scarcely tend to increase Schubert's fame.'[103] These reviews meet what one would expect from a performance of an incomplete piece and thus add little to the current discussion apart from the fact that, like Grove, these commentators omit biographical details, instead focusing on the music.

The degree to which these critics take their initiatives from Grove (or the unknown writer of the programme note) varies, but nevertheless his influence can be found nearly throughout. Sometimes this effect is straightforward, as in those who quote or directly address the programme notes. Yet others are more subtle, such as the arguments on Schubert's own compositional models. However throughout the reviews, the general tone was positive and never disparaged the composer. Undertones of effeminacy or references to Schubert as a Lied composer were absent from these critiques discussed above, which in part could be credited to the later period in which these reviews were written. However, a large part has to do with the programme notes themselves and their overall attempt to sway public opinion towards Schubert. Lacking reference to his songs also implies a degree of acceptance of Schubert as an instrumental composer. Unsurprisingly, his earliest symphonies met with the most critical response. Were Schubert's symphonic works not to have had a posthumous reception, but a more traditionally chronological reception, these would likely have received even less attention, yet the responses probably would have been the same in that most people would have seen the similarities to other composers. Given the posthumous reception of Schubert in general with the effect that his later works were already well established when the early

[101] Crystal Palace Programme Note, 5 May 1883.
[102] *London Standard*, 14 May 1883.
[103] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 May 1883.

works were premiered, most responses to the early works seemed to be tempered. In part this is also due to Grove who helped to shape listeners' response in his ability to frame reactions based on an understanding of the works and their placement within Schubert's life. That one should feel sympathy for Schubert also played no small part in this appreciation.

What is also clear from examining these reviews is the extent to which reviewers take issue with Grove's programme notes as much as with the music. There are several instances where Grove explained that the purpose of his programme notes was to make the music clear to himself, for example in the autobiographical speech given in July 1880 which was quoted above. Informally, he also stated this fact as in his letter to his sister-in-law, Emma Bull (née Bradley): writing the programme notes 'added so much to my own pleasure in listening to observe how the subjects came back and were treated, and were related to one another, or were like those in other pieces.'[104] As we have seen, an understanding of the composer's life events was of prime importance to this understanding. That critics often argued against Grove's programme note became a trend, and it is possible that Grove wrote with the intention of arousing their dislike. Yet, in everything Grove has written about his programme-note writing, this purpose never appeared. Instead, one finds comments such as:

> I want to bring out the fact that in listening to Schubert, one never thinks of the cleverness or the contrivance, as one often does even in Beethoven, but simply of the music itself – the emotions it raises in you and the strong personal feeling it excited towards the composer [...] if he wanders from the form, it is not from any intention of neglecting it and setting up something fresh, but just because he goes on pouring out what he has to say and so gets into all kinds of irregular keys.[105]

From Grove's letters it appears that his purpose of programme notes, even in the case of Schubert, was not about inciting the critics, but about the music itself and his attempts at explaining it to his audience. However, finding fault with Grove's viewpoints in the programme notes created a discussion in the press and, thus, publicised both Schubert and the concerts at the Crystal Palace in general.

Undoubtedly, the Crystal Palace and Grove's research and programme notes were paramount to Schubert's English reception. Not only the sheer number of performances of his music, but, in particular, the many premieres of symphonies among other pieces helped to increase the awareness of Schubert. Thus on one hand, Grove's research and the

[104] This letter was reproduced in part in: Graves, *The Life & Letters of Sir George Grove*, 216-217.
[105] This letter to Mrs. Edmond Wodehouse, dated 18 March 1882, was reproduced in part in: Graves, *The Life & Letters of Sir George Grove*, 282.

eventual production of new works at the Crystal Palace was a positive endeavour for Schubert's reception. One could hypothesise two possible outcomes: one, that these works could have been lost forever and thus we can directly thank Grove for our ability, today, to be able to hear them; and two, that these pieces could have been discovered by someone else and, therefore, their history would have been very different. In the twenty-first century we are in a position to have Schubert's entire œuvre before us. How did these discoveries change the overall impression of Schubert? Would Schubert be held in a different light if these pieces were undiscovered? Did these 'new' works contribute toward a positive reception history or can they only be considered immature works, which according to nineteenth-century critics, lacked originality, amongst other criticisms, and were therefore of poor quality? To fully answer these questions, one must follow each piece's trajectory to the present day. An examination of library records of the last twenty years gives some clues. Merely looking for scores and recordings, there are few published materials related to the *Song of Miriam* or the early symphonies. Indeed, Symphonies Nos. 8 and 9 continue to have a more prominent reception than Symphonies Nos. 1 and 2. Of course the pieces discovered by Grove also influenced scholarly research. Missing pieces affect our view of Schubert, as in the mythology surrounding the Gmunden-Gastein symphony.

The time was right for the discovery of these pieces. The general climate towards Schubert in England was one of sympathetic enjoyment, meaning that even in cases of low-quality works, reviewers still maintained an overall positive viewpoint of him and his abilities. Indeed it seems that the majority of reviewers, even those negative critiques, subscribed to Grove's Schubert – one who deserved sympathy and a chance to be heard.

CHAPTER IV: THE PATH TO CANONIZATION OF SCHUBERT IN ENGLISH MUSIC JOURNALS AND HISTORIES AFTER 1855

For William Weber, the 'rise of masters to musical sainthood' occurred in the period 1855-1875.[1] By another name, it was the time of canon formation.[2] As this chapter will show, there were many obstacles in Schubert's path to canonization, such as Beethoven's position in the canon and writings on Schubert and the avant-garde.

1. THEORIES OF CANON AND THEIR APPLICATION TO SCHUBERT'S MUSIC IN ENGLAND

Carl Dahlhaus distinguished between works accepted into the canon through aesthetic or historical criteria. Whereas works chosen aesthetically achieve status because of their quality, historical criteria refer to the role played by the work. For instance, a 'work may be a particularly telling expression of the "spirit of the age", a decisive step in the evolution of a genre, form or particular technique, or a foundation and starting point for works which, on their own merits, have been accepted for display in the imaginary

[1] Weber, 'Mass Culture', 5.

[2] To apply the term 'canon' to periods prior to its application in music is slightly problematic; see Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 17. Its usefulness as an analytical tool, however, will soon be apparent. For issues around the definition of canon, see Citron, *Gender*, 39ff. The application of the concept 'canon' arguably differs between music, literature and art, and, as such, our discussion will mostly reside with musicologists. For more detail, see Joseph Kerman, 'A Few Canonic Variations', *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (September 1983), 107-109. Also see *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?*, ed. Michael Talbot (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), especially Reinhard Strohm, 'Looking Back at Ourselves: The Problem with the Musical Work-Concept', 128-152, and Michael Talbot, 'The Work-Concept and Composer-Centredness', 168-186. On the literary canon, see Simon Kővesi, 'Canonicity', *The Romanticism Handbook*, ed. Sue Chaplin and Joel Faflak (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011), 141-157; Harold Bloom, *The Western Canon: The Books and School of the Ages* (London: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1994); and Jan Gorak, *The Making of the Modern Canon: Genesis and Crisis of a Literary Idea* (London: Athlone, 1991). After detailing the history of the canon and providing a critical survey of the contemporary debate, E. Dean Kolbas then applies critical theory to the argument in *Critical Theory and the Literary Canon* (Bolder: Westview Press, 2001). To see the application of the canon in nineteenth-century French reception see: Katharine Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: 'La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris', 1834-80* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Ellis maintains that the musical canon has 'two dimensions': one, 'the practical dimension of performances and repertoire' and two, 'a governing aesthetic by which the value of specific items of repertoire may be judged'; see Ellis, *Music Criticism*, 3.

museum of music history.'[3] This aesthetic and historical differentiation proves true especially for Schubert, whose works (apart possibly from his Lieder) entered the canon for aesthetic reasons.

Dahlhaus explained that the 'classical' status of composers was not exclusively dependent upon the aesthetic status of their œuvre, but rather the aesthetic status of a specific genre and the nature of their claim to 'own' a genre.[4] Combining both aesthetic and historical judgements, Palestrina was the 'classic' of Catholic Church music, Handel of the oratorio, Haydn of the string quartet, and Beethoven of the symphony.[5] However, we cannot easily describe Schubert as the 'classic' Lied composer as it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that there were 'signs of the Lied's seriousness and canonic status'.[6] This theory goes some way towards explaining why Schubert's music struggled to gain canonic status in a framework that privileged the composition of symphonies.

Weber describes three types of canon, which aids in assessing Schubert's entry into the canon: the 'scholarly canon' refers to music which is studied in theoretical terms; the 'pedagogical canon' involves the emulation of works by 'master' composers of a previous generation; and the 'performing canon' consists of old works which are organized as repertories and defined as sources of authority in terms of musical taste.[7] Weber's three types of canon – scholarly, pedagogical and performing – ascribe value to music in a variety of roles. It is the performing and scholarly canon in which this chapter will focus; primarily because there is little evidence of Schubert in the pedagogical canon. His music is hardly found in any British compositional textbook published in the mid to late nineteenth century, apart from a book by W. W. Parkinson, which will be

[3] See Dahlhaus, *Foundations*, 93. When it comes to evaluate the historical significance of a composer or a work, Dahlhaus thought that a distinction must be made between its 'impact' and it being a 'symptom'; see Dahlhaus, *Foundations*, 94. This is also discussed in Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 79.

[4] For a discussion of the term 'classical', see Chapter II above.

[5] See Dahlhaus, *Foundations*, 95-96.

[6] David Gramit, 'The Circulation of the Lied: the Double Life of an Artwork and a Commodity', *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, ed. James Parsons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 308.

[7] See Weber, 'Canon', 338-339. See also William Weber, *The Rise of the Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). On the attempt at incorporating British art music from the sixteenth century onwards into the Western musical canon in the twentieth century, see David Allen Sheridan, *Give Us More Music: Women, Musical Culture, and Work in Wartime Britain, 1939-1946* (California: December 2007) Ph.D. Thesis, University of Southern California.

discussed later in this chapter.[8] However, for our purposes Weber promotes the best model in that it converges on the various segments of the nineteenth-century English music community. Weber suggests the following timeline for canon formation:

- 1520-1700: development of a pedagogical canon which includes Josquin Desprez, Palestrina and Frescobaldi, and with isolated examples of older works in regular performance
- 1700-1800: performance canons emerge based on repertories that were given authority in both musical and ideological terms, but limited definition in published areas
- 1800-1870: integrated, international canon emerges with authority more strongly lying in aesthetic and critical terms
- 1870-1945: stable relationship between canonic repertories and contemporary music; repertories were dominated by classical rather than contemporary works; new works were infrequent
- 1945-1980: intolerant prominence of classical over contemporary music
- 1980- : limited, but significant appreciation for new works, but mostly in avant-garde circles and kept separate from traditional performance halls[9]

As the musical canon formed, barriers to new music developed. Jauss' 'horizon of expectation', discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, comes to the forefront here because though Schubert was an 'old' composer in term of style, his music was new to the public and thus the expectation was that it should be considered as such, and as Weber argues, there were barriers now to new music.

2. BEETHOVEN'S PLACEMENT IN THE CANON AND ITS EFFECTS ON SCHUBERT'S RECEPTION

Throughout the previous chapters we noticed the ambivalent reception of Schubert's music in England, but between 1865 and 1875 the tone of criticism changed. For instance one exclaimed that

> in no single instance has Schubert failed to win immediate acceptance. Indeed, very little discussion is required upon such genius as he could boast. While a symphony, overture, quintet, quartet, octet, no matter what, by him

[8] As some prominent examples of mid nineteenth-century composition books which do not include Schubert, see Charles Dawson, *The Analysis of Musical Composition* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1845); and G.W. Rohner, *A Practical Treatise on Musical Composition* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1850).
[9] See Weber, 'Canon', 341.

> is being played, it is all the time arguing on its own behalf, and getting the best of the argument as it goes on.[10]

Not only striking in its view of Schubert's music never 'failing to win immediate acceptance', the article then aligned Schubert with Beethoven as his 'most distinguished fellow-labourer'. Another critic proclaimed that 'music of Schubert's ought to be particularly valuable, seeing that there is little probability of another Beethoven, and that Schubert certainly comes nearest to that great man'.[11] A different article claimed that Mozart was the 'foundation from which the stately fabrics of Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schubert, Weber, Meyerbeer, and Spohr, have been raised'.[12] Thus we see writers in this period beginning to place Schubert among composers now held to be canonic. These critics are both reflecting and forming English taste. When discussing audience reactions they are reporting, yet in the promotion (or demotion) of Schubert's music they are attempting to form taste.[13]

An increasing number of performances were assisted largely by the societies discussed in Chapter II – although this increase does not necessarily imply Schubert's entry into the canon but rather that he was becoming a part of the repertoire and hence more popular. This case is in essence what Kerman's differentiation between canon and repertory explains, whereby a canon is an 'idea' and a repertory is a 'programme of action'.[14] However, it cannot be assumed, as Dahlhaus argued,[15] that the accrual of successful performances yields 'classical status'. There is a distinction between success in performance and prestige of a work (or several works), which can be reached without performance. As an example, Dahlhaus cited Mendelssohn's rediscovery of Bach's *St Matthew Passion* and the conversion of its prestige into successful performances.[16] Schubert was gaining success in performances and, over time, a selected few of his works were gaining prestige as well. This combination of performances and positive critiques,

---

[10] Anon., 'Crystal Palace Concerts', *Musical World*, Vol. 45, No. 15 (13 April 1867), 227.
[11] J. H. Deane, 'Brief Notes on F. Schubert', *Musical Standard*, Vol. 6, No. 144 (4 May 1867), 276.
[12] H. R. H. [reviewer of], '*The Life of Rossini.* By Sutherland Edwards. London: Hurst and Blackett', *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 11 (May 1869), 456.
[13] Kerman argues that 'repertoires are determined by performers and canons by critics' who were 'by preference musicians, but by definition literary men or at least effective writers about music.' It was these critics who turned scores into literary texts, often through comparisons – such as Beethoven with Shakespeare. Consequently, composers could be raised to canonical status much like their literary counterparts; see Kerman, 'A Few Canonic Variations', 107-112. Everist maintains that performers and critics have a more equal role; see Mark Everist, 'Reception Theories, Canonic Discourses, and Musical Value', *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 388.
[14] Kerman, 'A Few Canonic Variations', 107.
[15] See Dahlhaus, *Foundations*, 99.
[16] See Dahlhaus, *Foundations*, 100.

that often aligned Schubert with both Beethoven and Mendelssohn, indicated his gradual entry into the canon. The frequent inclusion of Schubert's music gave way to him becoming a member of the performing canon. Whilst many nineteenth-century critics are too focused on reviews of performances, these particular sources do have a strong discursive element and are valuable assets in assessing Schubert's place. Of course, as Weber points out, a performance canon, and here I would add scholarly canon as well, is 'more than a collection of judgments about individual works or composers, [as it] sprang from the bestowal of intellectual authority upon them'.[17] In this period, when the power of the nobility was diminishing, cultural authority, apart from that of the church, was conferred to some extent to artists, writers and journalists. They became a sort of 'modern priesthood' who helped and guided in both religious and moral aspects and had their own 'congregation' who closely followed their work.[18] One such follower wrote to Thomas Carlyle:

> I am a stranger to you [...]. I was one of those Edinburgh students to whom, as a father to his sons, you addressed words which I have read over at least six times, and mean, while I live, to remember and obey. I have still one plea more. You know that in this country, when people are perplexed or in doubt, they go to their minister for counsel: you are my minister, my only minister, my honoured and trusted teacher, and to you I, having for more than a year back ceased to believe as my fathers believed in matters of religion, and being now an inquirer in that field, come for light on the subject of prayer.[19]

This was a commonly held belief, which readers cultivated for writers. It was shared by music critics who had a degree of authority in musical culture.[20] Therefore Kerman, who claims that canons were created by critics, is to some extent correct.[21] Yet nevertheless he overlooks the point that performers can also be critics. Furthermore, authority also lay with those responsible for concert programming and programme notes. Their critical role in choosing music and framing the context in which it was heard should not be underestimated.

All canons are fundamentally selective and as such serve various purposes. Harold Bloom suggested that the literary canon fulfils social and political needs.[22] In a

---

[17] William Weber, 'The Intellectual Origins of Musical Canon in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (Autumn 1994), 490.
[18] See Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870* (London: Yale University Press, 1985), 93-103.
[19] James Anthony Froude, *Thomas Carlyle: A History of His Life in London, 1834-1881, Vol. 2*, (London: Harper, 1884), 19-20, quoted in Houghton, *Frame of Mind*, 102
[20] For more information on the relationship between readers and writers, see Houghton, *Frame of Mind*, 101-102 and 152-154.
[21] See Kerman, 'A Few Canonic Variations', 112.
[22] See Bloom, *The Western Canon*, 32ff.

similar vein, Weber argues that the canon has a civic, moral and spiritual dimension. The canon's civic role was varied. Performing old works became the major focus of grand occasions, whereby these works came to symbolize 'society's highest moral and spiritual values, as well as its stability'. Musical life helped establish 'civic communities'.[23]

According to Weber, music commercialism in the form of publishing and concerts was seen as a 'manipulative enterprise' that 'threatened the standards of taste'.[24] The canon helped to restore the morality of these endeavours. It was held as 'a force for the good' in that 'the great master-works were thought to stand above the money-making side of musical life; they could help society transcend commercial culture and thereby regenerate musical life'.[25] Schubert could fall into this category, as the stories of his life demonstrated unabated compositional enthusiasm, despite or, perhaps even more importantly, combined with lifelong poverty. Yet his quantity of domestic music, which suits the commercial market, undermines his position in this area.

The spiritual dimension of the canon came to the fore in sacred music and expanded into secular avenues as can be seen in sacred polyphony and its growth in secular concerts. Handel's oratorios, which were frequently performed after his death, yielded a 'much more self-consciously spiritual ideology in a wide range of performing contexts. Romantic musical thinking then interpreted the primarily secular repertory of the early nineteenth century in religious terms, and, one might say, spiritualized it'.[26] The spiritual and moral forces have always been closely related and often overlapped – where the polyphonic traditions and their offshoots were defined as 'the bulwark of solid craftsmanship, good taste, and a lofty order of musical experiences'.[27] The continued veneration of contrapuntal techniques impeded Schubert's access to the musical canon, because he was often criticised for the prolix form of his instrumental writing.

Furthermore, Schubert's instrumental works struggled to gain prominence in the canon because of their position in relation to Beethoven. Commentaries surrounding these two composers fall into two categories – death and burial details, and compositional ability and style. Within these, we will see that Schubert and Beethoven are opposed either overtly or indirectly regarding their supposed work ethic, their characteristic genres of Lied and symphony respectively, fame, personality, and lifespan.[28] Articles concerning the death and burial of Schubert always include Beethoven, due to the proximity of their

[23] Weber, 'Canon', 352.
[24] Weber, 'Canon', 352.
[25] Weber, 'Canon', 352.
[26] Weber, 'Canon', 352.
[27] Weber, 'Canon', 352.
[28] See Gibbs, 'Images and Legends of the Composer', 50.

graves and death.[29] However, even in death Schubert was second-rate – 'the skeleton of Beethoven was almost perfect, the bone of the temples alone being wanting. The remains of Schubert had suffered much, but the head and the hair were intact'.[30] The articles that rank their skills always considered Beethoven as the superior composer: 'we cannot rank Schubert with Beethoven, Mozart, and Mendelssohn'.[31] Schubert and Beethoven have, it seems, always been compared. As early as 1820, Leipzig's *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* published the following comparison: 'In this first dramatic essay [Schubert's *Die Zwillingsbrüder*] he seems to attempt to fly as high as Beethoven and not to heed the warning example of Icarus.'[32] According to this Leipzig critic, Schubert, like Icarus, went beyond his abilities and failed to achieve the desired goal.

Regarding style, Schubert's works were never perceived to be on a par with Beethoven in this period. The *Daily News* wrote that Schubert's posthumously published quartet was deficient in 'simplicity and clearness', which 'showed inexperience in instrumental compositions; and its defects were rendered more apparent by it being placed in contrast [in the same concert programme] with one of Beethoven's most perfect works, his Quartet in A'.[33] In this case, simplicity is closely linked to an economical design, which was highly valued. Janet Levy argues that economy has been 'frequently [...] connected with an organicist orientation through the notion that nature is economical' and to 'mirror' nature is good.[34] Schubert was also criticized for lacking 'unity of idea'.[35] The

[29] See *John Bull*, 13 and 15 December 1845.
[30] *Reynold's Newspaper* and *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, 25 October 1863. The article appeared a month later in *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser* (4 November 1863) but with less detail. Gerhard von Breuning who was present at the exhumation commented on the femininity of Schubert's skull; see Chapter I of the present thesis.
[31] *Manchester Times*, 12 February 1853.
[32] Christopher H. Gibbs, 'German reception: Schubert's "journey to immortality"', *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 244; and Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, trans. Eric Blom (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1946), 174. Icarus and his father, Daedalus, were imprisoned in the Labyrinth in Crete. Having been its architect, Daedalus knew the only way to escape was through flight and so he made two pairs of wings for both of them. He warned Icarus to follow him and to particularly be aware of not flying too high, or else the sun might melt the glue that held the feathers of the wings in place, or too low, least the water wet the feathers. Icarus disobeyed and flew too high causing the glue to melt and him to plummet into the sea; see Edith Hamilton, *Mythology* (New York: Little, Brown & Company, 1957), 139-140. Hamilton moralizes the story writing 'what elders say youth disregards.' See also David Adams Leeming, *The World of Myth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 347-348, for a different approach to the myth.
[33] *Daily News*, 5 May 1852. It is unclear to what quartet the article is referring as there are several possibilities, namely D minor, 'Der Tod und das Mädchen' (published 1831), Eb major (published 1840), E major (published 1840), and G major (published 1851). Given the date of this article, it is mostly likely referring to the G major quartet. The 'quartet in A' refers to the Quartet in A major, Op. 18.5 or Op. 132, in A minor.
[34] Janet M. Levy, 'Covert and Casual Values in Recent Writings About Music', *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Winter 1987), 7 and 11.

Quartet in D minor (D810) was once described as a 'palpable imitation of Beethoven's latest and least imitable style; and Schubert has only been obscure and incoherent, without Beethoven's wonderful grasp of thought'.[36] The *Daily News* voiced much the same view and evaluated a solo for pianoforte in similar fashion:

> it was of immoderate length, and seemed to be an endeavour to imitate the latest compositions of Beethoven, an endeavour which succeeded in so far as regarded incoherence and obscurity, but failed in respect to those bright gleams of beauty, power, and passion which burst through the clouds and darkness of those strange productions.[37]

Not only is there a clear lack of appreciation for Beethoven's late works, here considered almost contemporary, but more importantly it appeared to this writer that Schubert imitated Beethoven's 'power'. This particular power was noted again in an article comparing Schumann to Schubert and Beethoven. In this regard, Schubert was seen as 'a far finer lyrical musician, and Beethoven a stronger, loftier, more coherent instrumental composer.'[38] Clearly, in juxtaposition with a powerful Beethoven, it was implied that Schubert was a weaker composer.

In 1866, one critic maintained that Schubert 'never approached Beethoven in grandeur and sublimity and power of the deepest emotions. Schubert frequently resembles that great master in abstract idealism, and those exquisite floating reveries which soar beyond all control of conventional form and precedent'.[39] Again this critic implied that Schubert was the opposite of the powerful and grand Beethoven. Another article stated that Schumann was influenced by both Beethoven and Schubert: 'the grandeur and elevated sublimity of one, and the tender dreamy fancy of the other.'[40] Both quotations use the terms 'grandeur' and 'sublimity'. The sublime, though 'notoriously difficult to define', but in any case associated with power and often terror, is directly opposed to the beautiful.[41] Victorians would have been well versed in Romantic literature and criticism where this distinction was developed. Adeline Johns-Putra, in her discussion of the sublime, first explains the eighteenth-century view of the sublime and argues that:

> some critics have identified different modes of the sublime operating in the work of male and female writers of the Romantic era. Anne Mellor argues

---

[35] *Manchester Times*, 20 October 1852.
[36] *Daily News*, 15 January 1861.
[37] *Daily News*, 7 March 1865.
[38] *Leeds Mercury*, 20 February 1866.
[39] *Daily News*, 12 November 1866.
[40] *Daily News*, 4 December 1866.
[41] Adeline Johns-Putra, 'Key Critical Concepts and Topics', *The Romanticism Handbook*, ed. Sue Chaplin and Joel Faflak (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011), 117.

> that the sublime in what she terms "Male Romanticism" works to facilitate a highly individualistic, self-affirming transcendence that disconnects the poet from a social sphere constructed as "feminine" (and associated more with "beauty" than with the sublime).[42]

The sublime thus enables an artist to distance himself from an effeminate reading of their work. Connecting the sublime with gender connotations would probably have been common among Victorians. Derek B. Scott explains how 'metaphors of masculinity and femininity solidified into truths about musical style'.[43] There was the perception of a direct correlation between the compositional habits of Beethoven and Schubert with regard to masculine and feminine and the sublime and the beautiful. When these quotations identified Beethoven's music as 'sublime' and Schubert's as 'tender' and 'dreamy,' they were in effect saying that Beethoven was the more masculine composer and Schubert the more feminine.

Perhaps the most noteworthy commentary was offered with regard to Schubert's Grand Sonata in A minor, Op. 42 (D845):

> The most striking novelty in the concert, however, was the sonata of Schubert for pianoforte alone, a work of singular originality and merit, and the more interesting as proceeding from one who, though celebrated all over Europe as the greatest of the German song writers, is almost unknown, even to the majority of his compatriots, as an instrumental composer [...]. Schubert was like a tender plant, growing under the shadow of a giant oak. The world could not see him for Beethoven. But now that nearly 30 years have passed since they both died [...] [Schubert is] now recognized as something more than a mere song-composer [...]. With regard to Beethoven, indeed, Schubert stands in something like the position of the best of the Elizabethan dramatists with regard to Shakespeare – only perhaps more nearly approaching Beethoven than any one of Shakespeare's contemporaries.[44]

The use of 'tender' implies vulnerability and denotes the predominant perception of women in the nineteenth century; 'giant oak', however, implies masculinity. As Kerman explains, the pairing of Beethoven with Shakespeare raised the former into the highest canonic strata.[45] In this quotation, the juxtaposition of Beethoven with Schubert helps to

---

[42] Johns-Putra, 'Key Critical Concepts and Topics', 118 and Anne Mellor, *Romanticism and Gender* (London: Routledge, 1993). The Victorians were not the first to make the gender correlation to the sublime. In Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (published 1757) and Immanuel Kant's *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* (published 1764), the sublime is defined in opposition to beauty with direct gender correlations. For a detailed analysis, see Meg Armstrong, '"The Effects of Blackness": Gender, Race, and the Sublime in Aesthetic Theories of Burke and Kant', *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (Summer 1996), 215-222.
[43] Scott, 'The Sexual Politics', 91-114.
[44] *The Times*, 28 June 1858.
[45] See Kerman, 'A Few Canonic Variations', 112.

explain the difficulty composers had in attempting to reach the level of greatness that the former embodied.

Schumann, however, was the first to fully articulate a gendered relationship between Schubert and Beethoven. His essay on the Symphony in C major began with a description of Vienna and his visit to Währing Cemetery. Beethoven's grave had a wild rosebush, Schubert's – nothing. Schumann also found a pen on Beethoven's grave, which he kept and used on special occasions in hope that Beethoven himself had once used it.[46] The pen, supposedly Beethoven's, was appropriated as a symbol of 'cultural authority'.[47] Again, nothing was on Schubert's grave. These images set a divide between the two composers. The grave of one was cared for; that of the other was neglected. Schumann constructed two dichotomies – one of man versus youth, the other of male versus female:

> It is certain that equal ages exert a reciprocal attraction upon each other, that youthful enthusiasm is best understood by youth, and the power of the mature master by the full-grown man. So Schubert will always remain the favourite of youth. He gives what youth desires – an overflowing heart, daring thoughts, and swift deeds; he tells them what they most love, romantic stories of knights, maidens, and adventures.[48]

To Schubert the younger, stands Beethoven as the older, wiser, more powerful composer. The prominent male vs. female dichotomy in the infamous 'ein Mädchencharakter' quotation (which was explored in Chapter I of the present thesis) claimed that Schubert was feminine compared to Beethoven.

Positively received, one critic advised that 'those that delight in music and musicians' would enjoy reading what Schumann had to say on Schubert.[49] Another critic claimed that 'all he [Schumann] has to say about Beethoven and Schubert is worth reading'.[50] Schumann's influence in this matter can be found throughout the century and will be clearly seen in Chapter V.

Lawrence Kramer argues that Schumann's critique of Schubert lay in his 'presumed inferiority to Beethoven';[51] this creates two issues. One is that whilst Schubert was perceived by Victorian critics as a second-rate composer, the criticisms we see in comparison to Beethoven are often found in the comparisons of Schubert to Mendelssohn and Mozart (and other 'great' composers) as well. Thus, it is not a simple case that

[46] See Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, 107 and 112.
[47] Lawrence Kramer, *Franz Schubert: Sexuality, Subjectivity, Song* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 95.
[48] Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, 115.
[49] *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser*, 11 October 1865.
[50] *Manchester Times*, 17 February 1866.
[51] Kramer, *Franz Schubert*, 95.

Schubert was presumed inferior to Beethoven, but to others as well.[52] The second issue is that Schubert was compared more often to Beethoven than to any other composer. This makes sense when we remember that they were contemporaries, living in the same city. Whilst it is entirely natural to examine two artists who were so close in location and time, one would expect it to be more even-handed.

If Schubert was so poor a composer then why compare him to Beethoven? Kramer reminds us that Beethoven's status was that of a master musician, who for Schumann came to represent German nationality: 'In Beethoven, the German imagines he has reversed the fortunes of the battles he lost to Napoleon'.[53] It is hard to imagine anyone competing with this eminence. However, the continuing comparison with Beethoven suggested that Schubert posed a threat to this status. Regardless, Kramer's interpretation only explains Schubert's reception in Germanic lands and not those of England.

Contrary to Kramer, Messing argues that in 'according Schubert the capacity to carry both feminine and masculine traits, Schumann forged a conception that invested the idol of his youth with an element of androgyny, which, rather than revealing a defect of creativity, was a condition to which the romantic artist should aspire.'[54] Problematically for Schubert's reception, the Victorians did not empathise with this meaning of the 'Mädchencharakter' as we saw in Chapter I and elsewhere in this thesis. For them, Beethoven was the genius to which all should aspire.

Perhaps criticisms by the Victorians under discussion in this chapter could be an attempt to understand how Schubert, a talented song composer, could not produce instrumental works like Beethoven (or Haydn and Mozart, the initial models), who was the model of the day. Schubert did not fit into this Victorian paradigm. Both Dahlhaus and Susan McClary attempted to explain why: Dahlhaus claimed it was due to a 'circling motion' rather than a teleological trajectory in his larger works and McClary argues that Schubert had to 'rework virtually every parameter of his inherited musical language.'[55] Schubert's music – specifically his symphonic writing – became viewed as an alternative to Beethoven's style. As an increasing number of composers tried to progress beyond

[52] Of course it is important to remember that all of Beethoven's contemporaries and predecessors (for quite a time) were compared to him. Cherubini only wrote one symphony to avoid competition.
[53] Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, 61, quoted in Kramer, *Franz Schubert*, 95.
[54] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 3.
[55] Carl Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to his Music*, trans. Mary Whittall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 81 and 89. Susan McClary, 'Music and Sexuality: On the Steblin/Solomon Debate', *19th Century Music*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Summer 1993), 87. See also: Anne Hyland, *Tautology or Teleology? Towards an Understanding of Repetition in Franz Schubert's Instrumental Chamber Music* (Cambridge: August, 2011) Ph.D. Thesis, King's College, University of Cambridge.

Beethoven's legacy, some of them were also included in the canon although their work was outside the Beethoven paradigm. However, this was not only an indication of something other than just a change in appreciation. It was also a reaction against the *Music of the Future* and those composers in line with Wagner as will be shown in the ensuing pages.

3. FRANZ HUEFFER AND THE AVANT-GARDE

Contemporary writer and supporter of the avant-garde, Franz Hueffer (1845-1889) moved from Germany to London in 1869 (anglicising his name to Francis). He succeeded James William Davison as music editor of *The Times* in 1878, sometimes wrote critiques for the *Examiner*, and also edited the *Musical Review* (1883), the *Musical World* (1885-1888), and the series of biographies, *The Great Musicians*. Hueffer 'believed not only that musicians and journalists should join forces in search of musical reform and renewal, but also that music should be regarded as a spiritual, poetic and "philosophical" art'.[56] In his 1874 book, *Richard Wagner and Music of the Future: History and Aesthetics*, Hueffer argued that the 'music of the future' would solve the 'urgent demand of a poetical basis of music'. Less succinctly, 'music, vocal or instrumental, in its highest development, must aim at, and is capable of, rendering all the emotions of the human heart; not essentially differing in this from poetry, to which it is inferior in the distinctness of its means of expression, but which it surpasses in immediate impulse'.[57] Hueffer was one of the first to publicly draw attention to Wagner in England,[58] and his advocacy is particularly noteworthy in its importance for Wagner's English reception.[59]

---

[56] Meirion Hughes, 'Hueffer, Francis (1845-1889)', *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, ed. Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (Belgium: Academia Press, 2009), 295. See also: John Alexander Fuller Maitland, 'Hueffer, Francis', *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900, Vol. 28*, ed. Sidney Lee (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1891), 155-156.

[57] Franz Hueffer, 'Richard Wagner', *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 11, No. 63 (March 1872), 265.

[58] This first occurred with an article in the *Academy* (15 March 1871) discussing Wagner's 1870 essay on Beethoven. This was then expanded into an article for the *Fortnightly Review* which was subsequently re-cast in his 1874 book, *Richard Wagner and the Music of the Future*; see Anne Dzamba Sessa, *Richard Wagner and the English* (London: Associated University Presses, 1979), 27; and Warrack, 'Hueffer'. One reviewer of Hueffer's article noted that whereas Wagner's 'Oper und Drama' was not only useless to those who did not read German, but it was also difficult to understand, Hueffer wrote 'easily and clearly' passing 'rapidly through the transcendental portion of the subject'; see Anon., 'Richard Wagner, and the Music of the Future', *Illustrated Review: A Fortnightly Journal of Literature, Science and Art*, Vol. 1, No. 119 (April 1874), 215.

[59] Anne Dzamba Sessa, 'At Wagner's Shrine: British and American Wagnerians', *Wagnerism in European Culture and Politics*, ed. David C. Large and William Weber (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 248. It would be easy to weigh ourselves down with Wagner's theories; we will look to Hueffer for the Victorian's understanding of Wagner's theories, rather than Wagner himself and only concentrate on the key aspects that relate to Schubert's reception.

According to Hueffer, the 'music of the future' was a way to achieve the ultimate aim of all art – to represent emotions – but for many, Hueffer argued, it represented a 'modernity marked by the dismissal and disavowal of the past'.[60] In their eyes, this avant-garde music threatened to do away with the entire musical canon. James William Davison (1813-1885) worked as the sole music critic of *The Times* for thirty-two years and was a contributor and editor of the *Musical World* for over forty years. He argued for the superiority of British composers over most foreign ones, with the exception of his veneration for Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, and Mendelssohn.[61] Davison reported that the 'new movement arose out of a craving for novelty and originality – that established forms were threatened – that authority was despised – that Schumann was hailed as the real successor of Beethoven – Mendelssohn being the object of pitying disparagement'.[62] The idea that music should be beautiful sits within this framework. Wagner was often criticised for practising his theories at the 'sacrifice of musical beauty'.[63] Yet another critic noted that 'want of ear is notoriously the capital offence imputed to Wagner by his detractors, who imply that in subordinating melody to sentiment he has but made a virtue of necessity'.[64] Hueffer, however, argued that melody is the 'very essence of Wagner's music', which can be shown through various 'beautiful *cantilena* in *Tannhäuser* or *Tristan*'.[65] These complaints against Wagner's music were very positive for Schubert, whose music, particularly those pieces common in the repertoire at the time, was considered melodious. The negative comments regarding Wagner's music above suggest that 'beauty in music' became a new criterion for general acceptance if not also for entry into a canon.[66]

---

[60] Solie, *Music in Other Words*, 167.
[61] Reid, *The Music Monster*, ix-4.
[62] J.W. Davison, *Music During the Victorian Era From Mendelssohn to Wagner; Being the Memoirs of J. W. Davison Forty Years Music Critic of 'The Times'*, ed. Henry Davison (London: WM. Reeves, 1912), 141.
[63] Anon., 'The Music of the Future', *Monthly Musical Record*, No. 1 (October 1871), 125.
[64] *Examiner*, 7 February 1874.
[65] Hueffer, *Music of the Future*, 108-109. The causes of these criticisms that Wagner's music lacked melody are twofold. The first is due to the continuous flow of melody which made it difficult to identify separate melodies as opposed to Italian number opera, in which arias for a long time in the nineteenth century remained distinct from the recitative. The second cause is the new role of the orchestra which now carried a large part of the 'melodious flow' so as to give the voice a greater ability to emphasise passion; see Hueffer, *Music of the Future*, 108-109.
[66] Beautiful music became a major issue for English musical aesthetics in the latter half of the century. Derek B. Scott noted that Hanslick's ideas gained ground with the anti-Wagnerians; see Scott, 'The Sexual Politics', 110. Although Hanslick's treatise, *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*, was published in 1854, it did not appear in English translation until 1891. Little mention of it occurs in contemporary articles prior to the English translation and, as such, it had little impact on Schubert's reception as studied in this thesis.

Proponents of the 'music of the future' were selective. Hueffer considered Beethoven's later period, and more specifically his Ninth Symphony, as starting points for the movement.[67] Likewise, only some of Schubert's music was claimed as representative of the 'music of the future'. Hueffer explained that three different forms of the 'artistic' song were used by Schubert – the strophic, the through-composed and the declamatory song, giving 'Heidenröslein' and 'Der Lindenbaum' as examples of the first two subgenres. Little opinion is given except when moving on to the 'declamatory song', which has 'a still more progressive tendency'. This last type 'closely approach[es] the border-line of the "music of the future"'. In the declamatory song, the vocal line is a type of 'emphasised enunciation' where the accompaniment carried a larger expressive role, and 'lets us divine the undercurrent of emotional pathos'.[68] 'Die Stadt' (which from Appendices 2 and 3 appears not to have been performed at this point in England) is such an example (see Example 13 below). Its vocal line remains quite static – almost recitational in nature. Most movement is stepwise with few jumps as can be seen by the first fifteen bars in the example below. This piece is noteworthy for its relative harmonic stasis (lacking major-minor contrasts) – essentially an octave tremolo with a diminished seventh over it. Later historians have called this piece 'impressionistic',[69] aided in no small part by the arpeggiated bass and by the 'importance of the unprepared and unresolved diminished-seventh chord that dominates the song [...]. Even the voice part of the second strophe is fundamentally little more than a slightly ornamented and descending diminished-seventh chord'.[70] Furthermore, it was Heine's influence (he was

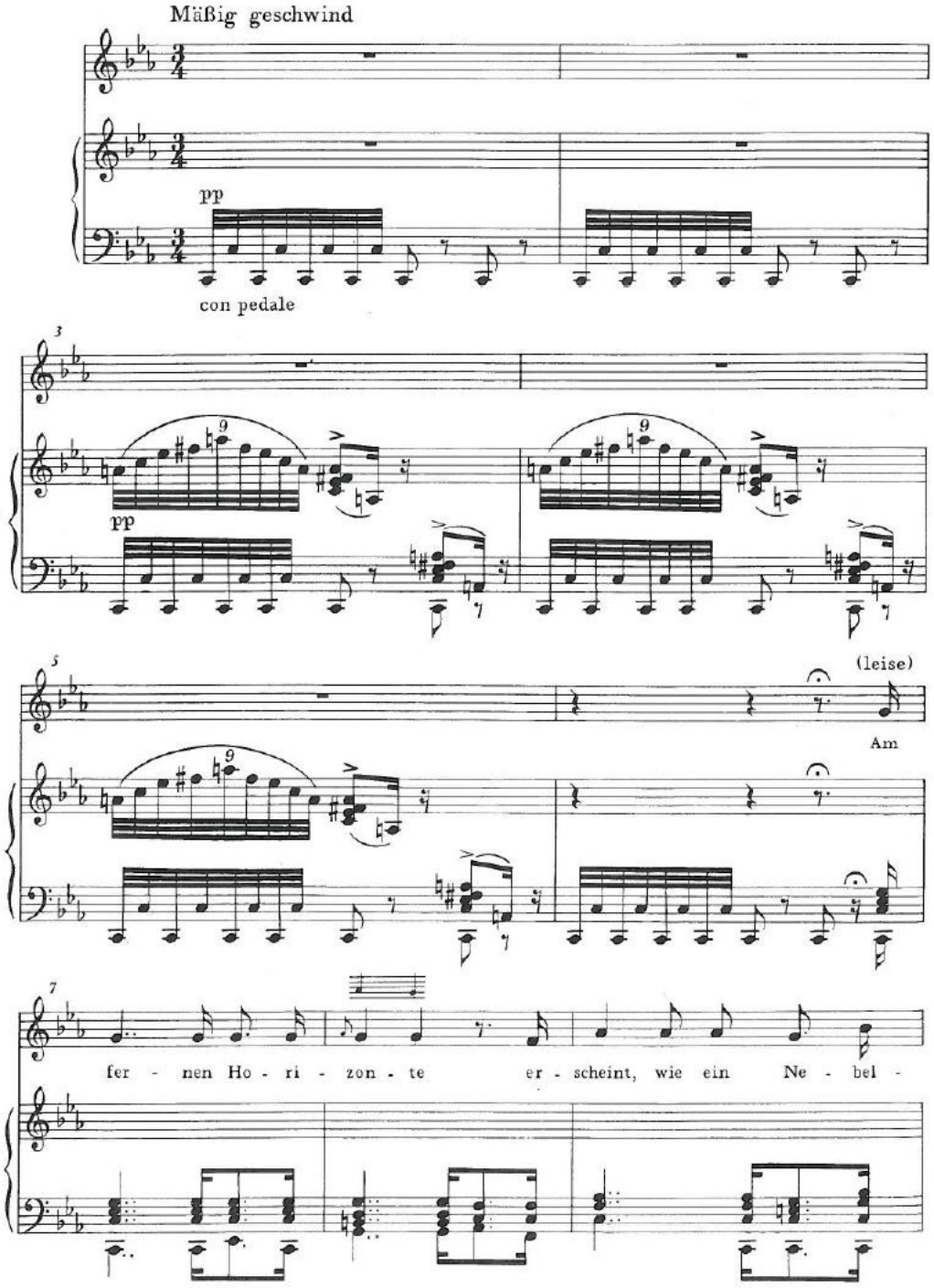
[67] See, for example, Hueffer, *Music of the Future*, 16 and 186 for the Ninth Symphony in particular.
[68] Hueffer, *Music of the Future*, 187-188.
[69] See Martin Chusid, 'Texts and Commentary', *Companion to Schubert's 'Schwanengesang': History, Poets, Analysis, Performance*, ed. Martin Chusid (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 136 and 154 (footnote 100). For further analysis of this Lied, see Edward T. Cone, 'Repetition and Correspondence in *Schwanengesang*', 77; Chusid, 'Texts and Commentary', 135-138; and Steven Lubin, 'The Three Styles of *Schwanengesang*: A Pianist's Perspective', 191-193, in: *Companion to Schubert's 'Schwanengesang': History, Poets, Analysis, Performance*, ed. Martin Chusid (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000). There is little mention of this song in nineteenth-century writings, which is unsurprising as it contradicts the English perception of Schubert as a composer of graceful melodies.
[70] Chusid, 'Texts and Commentary', 137. For more on the diminished seventh chord, see Newbold, *Schubert*, 313.

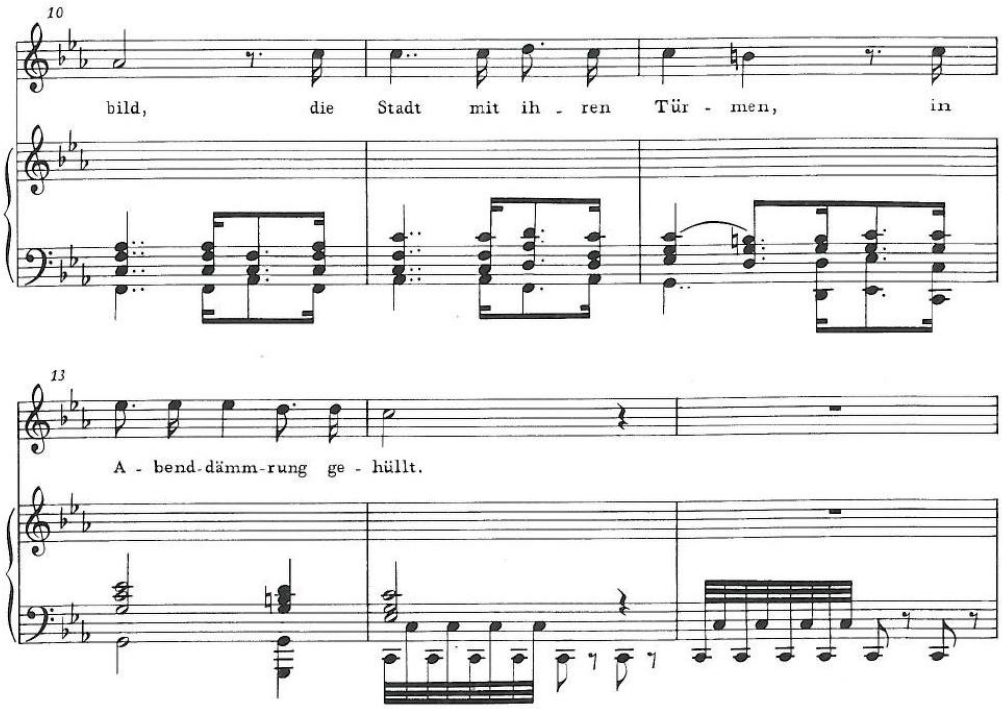
the author of almost half the poems in 'Schwanengesang'[71]), which caused Schubert to 'abandon the principle of absolute melodiousness [...] to which he was led by the bias of his peculiar gift more than any other master since Mozart. The victory of poetical over absolute music – of the "Future" over the "Past" – was gained once more'.[72] This song fits quite clearly with Wagner's and Hueffer's sense of representing emotions and the relationship between words and music. It was the only piece that Hueffer claimed for the movement, despite dedicating an entire chapter to Schubert.[73] Yet for Hueffer, Schubert should be considered proto-Wagnerian because in rare cases Schubert could abandon 'beautiful' melody in support of poetic melody.

[71] 'Schwanengesang' was first published by Tobias Haslinger in Vienna in May 1829 in two books (Numbers 1-6 and Numbers 7-14) as Schubert's *Letztes Werk*. The edition disregarded the poetic flow and ignored the logical grouping by the poets; see Graham Johnson (Intro and Schubert Calendar), *Franz Schubert, The Complete Songs: including piano-accompanied part songs and ensembles*, trans. Richard Wigmore, (London: Hyperion Records Ltd, 2005), 349. For details regarding of dates of composition, further publication information and compilation details, see Brown, *Schubert*, 288-289; and John Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 199-200, 258-260, 361, 466, and 474.

[72] Hueffer, *Music of the Future*, 187-190.

[73] Half of the chapter was dedicated to Schubert's biography. The following composers also had a dedicated chapter: Robert Schumann, Robert Franz and Franz Liszt. Alternatively, Hueffer could also have selected 'Der Leiermann' as his example piece.


Mäßig geschwind
pp
con pedale
3
pp
5
(leise)
Am
7
fer - nen Ho - ri - zon - te er - scheint, wie ein Ne - bel -



Example 12: Schubert's 'Die Stadt', bars 1-15.[74]

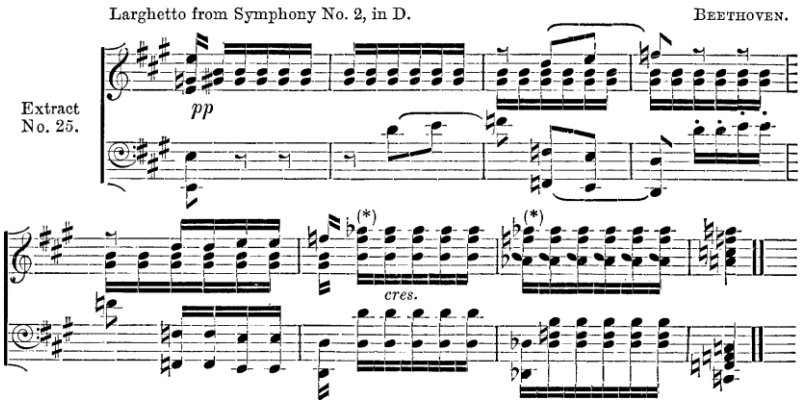
Hueffer considered Schubert's symphonies and dramatic works to be of little importance when compared to the chamber works and 'inexhaustible treasures of song'.[75] The operas' failure was caused, he thought, by Schubert's poor choice of librettos. Problematic for followers of the 'music of the future' was Schubert's ability to compose beautiful tunes irrespective of the text of the dramatic works – contrary to the key doctrine of the movement. Unfortunately, Hueffer wrote little else regarding the symphonies or chamber works.

Not all, however, approved of Schubert's inclusion in Hueffer's book, which received many notices and reviews in the press. One of the more analytical responses was from an author, known only as R. G., who was a detractor of Wagner's theory and questioned whether the 'dramatist in him [Wagner] may not have killed the musician'.[76] He was also critical of Schubert's placement in Hueffer's book unless it was intended as 'justification for declining to follow his master [Wagner] to the extreme consequences of his theories, and for reserving a mansion in the musical kingdom of the future for pure unstudied melody. The utmost that [...] he feels able to say of Schubert's lyrical

[74] Franz Schubert, 'Die Stadt', *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, Serie IV: Lieder, Band 14, Teil a, ed. Walther Dürr (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988), 15
[75] Hueffer, *Music of the Future*, 137.
[76] R. G., 'The Music of the Future', *Examiner* (7 February 1874), 139.

compositions is that they indicated "a progressive tendency"'.[77] Yet another critic found Schubert's inclusion (and that of Franz, Schumann and Liszt) problematic. Schubert's lyric principle was primarily creative – 'his followers, we will not say imitators, were Schumann, Franz, and Liszt and not one of them we contend, owes anything to Herr Wagner in the composition of the "song"'.[78] That Hueffer could only mention one song of the hundreds Schubert wrote as representative of the 'music of the future' makes his inclusion in the book contentious. He ought to have mentioned more music by Schubert to make his argument more plausible and to warrant the use of Schubert as an example.

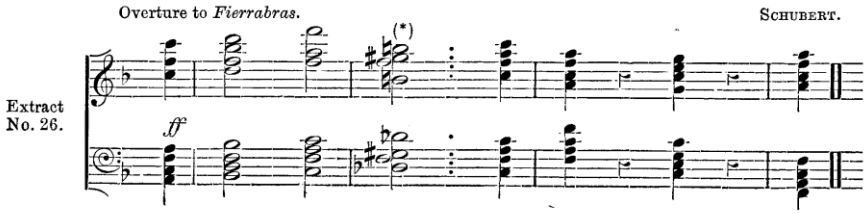
William Wignall Parkinson's book, *The Natural and Universal Principles of Harmony and Modulation*,[79] provides musical examples by nineteen different composers. The top four composers used were Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Handel, and F. Hiller, followed by Schumann and Schubert. Schubert's two pieces, Overtures to *Rosamunde* and *Fierrabras*, were employed to discuss chromaticism. One particular example when Parkinson discussed the correct spelling of the chord B-F-$G^{\#}$-D^{b} as opposed to B-F-A^{b}-D^{b} juxtaposes Beethoven and Schubert. Of Beethoven's use of the chord in Larghetto from Symphony No. 2 in D major, Parkinson wrote 'it will be perceived that Beethoven has, curiously enough, actually changed the correct notation $G^{\#}$ to the incorrect notation A^{b}; perhaps to agree with the theories of his day.'



Example 13: Beethoven's Larghetto from Symphony No. 2 in D major, bars 117-124.[80]

[77] *Examiner*, 7 February 1874.
[78] Anon., 'Richard Wagner and the Music of the Future: History and Aesthetics', *Athenaeum*, Vol. 2413 (24 January 1874), 132.
[79] William Wignall Parkinson, *The Natural and Universal Principles of Harmony and Modulation* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co, 1873).
[80] Parkinson, *Harmony and Modulation*, 156.

Of Schubert's use of the chord in the Overture to *Fierrabras*, he wrote 'the following exhibits the last of the above two chromatic chords in its correct notation, not that we ought to attach any importance to the evidence; for in the same Overture the chord subsequently appears in the incorrect form.'[81]



Example 14: Schubert's Overture to *Fierrabras*, bars 80-84.[82]

The tone is quite antagonistic and does not attempt an explanation of why Schubert may have been inconsistent in his spelling of the chord. The book was reviewed by one writer as 'the collection of analysed extracts [...] from Bach and Handel to Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schubert and Schumann, and of the modern school, Gounod, Meyerbeer, and Wagner'.[83] In this instance Schubert is one step away from Wagner's modern school. But others group him clearly with the progressive school, even when critiquing the same book: 'the passages are taken from the works of Bach and Handel, Haydn and Mozart, Beethoven, and not a few from Schubert, Schumann, Wagner, Reineke, Heller, and others of the new and modern lights.'[84] Schumann, too, was categorized as part of the modern school. The London Wagner Society (founded in 1873) included Schubert in its performances with pieces such as Fantasy in C major, Op. 15 (D760) and his *Polonaise* Op. 52[85] and Marches,[86] to name a few.

[81] Parkinson, *Harmony and Modulation*, 156.
[82] Parkinson, *Harmony and Modulation*, 156.
[83] Anon., 'The Natural and Universal Principles of Harmony and Modulation', *Monthly Music Record*, Vol. 3 (1 January 1873), 9.
[84] Anon., 'The Natural and Universal Principles of Harmony and Modulation. With Illustrative and Analyzed Extracts from the Works of Classical Composers', *Athenaeum*, Vol. 2386 (19 July 1873), 89.
[85] See *Examiner*, 6 December 1873. According to the work list provided *Grove Music Online*, the Polonaise is not Op. 52 which consists of seven pieces: Op. 52/1 is 'Ellens Gesang I', Op. 52/2 is 'Ellens Gesang II', Op. 52/3 is 'Bootgesang', Op. 52/4 is 'Coronach' ('Totengesang der Frauen und Mädchen'), Op. 52/5 is 'Normans Gesang', Op. 52/6 is 'Ellens Gesang III', and Op. 52/7 is 'Lied des gefangenen Jägers'. Thus it is uncertain to which Polonaise this article refers.

By the first half of the 1870s, whether Schubert's compositions belonged as part of conservative or progressive music became uncertain because both proponents and detractors of the *Music of the Future* claimed Schubert as representative of their music. In a society which revered the music of the past, Wagner was seen as avant-garde. He was progressive and therefore controversial.[87] Schubert and his music presented an interesting problem to both parties. His compositions had remained largely unknown in England during his lifetime, when they would undoubtedly have been considered modern. New works were continually discovered, with frequent premieres in the second half of the century. This music was new, although it had been written years ago. Its placement was therefore challenging and so it was easier for both sides to claim it for their cause. One striking article from 1872 designates three groups of composers. The 'classical' composers included Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. The 'continuation' school, which was the 'once new' school, counted Schubert and Schumann among its members, whilst the living composers represented 'the newest fashions'.[88] On one hand, Schubert's placement in the 'continuation' school is striking considering that his contemporary, Beethoven, was considered 'classical'. The distinction demonstrates the confusion of Schubert's historical placement due to his early death and the frequent premieres of his music at later times. On the other hand, this confusion arises only if composers are grouped by period, rather than style.

Mozart's early English reception provides an interesting parallel here in that much of it was posthumous. Here too was a clash of Ancient and Modern music, with Handel's Viennese Classical style residing in the Ancient category and Mozart's music in the Modern camp.[89] The point at which the followers of the Ancient camp finally accepted Mozart's music was 'tantamount to the achievement of canonic status.'[90] Yet

---

[86] Anon., 'Wagner Society', *Monthly Music Record*, Vol. 4 (February 1874), 27. The Wagner Society seems to have suffered from a confused identity. Initially it claimed to not be solely aimed at hearing Wagner's music but also works by Schubert, Liszt, Berlioz, and etc, 'in order that the new German and French schools, generally designated as "Music of the Future," may be freely tested'; see Anon., 'Musical Gossip', *Athenaeum*, Vol. 2315 (9 March 1872), 313. Yet it appears that they fluctuated between programming too much Wagner and not enough; see *Examiner*, 6 December 1873.

[87] William Weber, 'Wagner, Wagnerism, and Musical Idealism', *Wagnerism in European Culture and Politics*, ed. David C. Large and William Weber (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 29.

[88] Anon., 'The People's Concerts', *Orchestra*, Vol. 17, No. 442 (15 March 1872), 378.

[89] Cowgill, *Mozart*, 15-16. For the Ancient versus Modern debate in late Georgian musical society, see Cowgill, *Mozart*, 106-139.

[90] Cowgill, *Mozart*, 16.

contrary to Schubert's reception, Mozart's vocal music – chiefly opera – was paramount to his canonisation.[91]

Wagnerism always had its detractors, yet Schubert's role within this context became clearer in the latter half of the 1870s. By 1876, one critic remarked that Schubert was such a favourite with audiences everywhere that some feared that he could be too much esteemed rather than too little:

> As an unceasing inventor of simple, graceful, fanciful, romantic, often pathetic, and sometimes profoundly passionate melodies he cannot well be thought too highly of; and probably at this moment Schubert is preferred to all other German composers by mere lovers of music who are insensible to the defects of form with which he has at times been reproached [...]. That Wagner, with his numberless innovations and his boundless personal pretentions, should have met with obstacles is intelligible enough; but in Schubert's instrumental works there was nothing so very novel – except, indeed, that the charming melodies which he poured forth in such abundance were all new.[92]

Clearly, Schubert was here considered as completely separate from Wagner. Schubert's perceived lack of form still remained an issue, but beautiful melodies were now the criteria for success. We may recall that according to Dahlhaus 'history can influence and alter a canon of aesthetic norms [...] by proposing alternative norms'.[93] Schubert's music was this alternative norm and as such he became canonic.

That Schubert could be considered both 'classic' and 'modern' due to his early death in 1828 and the much later discoveries of his music cannot be stressed enough when trying to understand his place in England's musical scene between 1855 and 1875. Additionally, there is both a sense of oldness and newness in his music. The oldness stemmed in many cases from the traditional classical forms and structures, while the newness in his symphonies could be linked to what Dahlhaus described as 'melodically richer material and a passage of time that is more like a circling motion than a teleological process' as encountered particularly in Beethoven.[94] In his Lieder, the newness stemmed from the

[91] Cowgill, *Mozart*, 16. For an analysis of the reception of his operatic music and its effect on Mozart's general reception in England, see Cowgill, *Mozart*, 140-249.
[92] Anon., 'Schubert at the Popular Concerts', *Musical World*, Vol. 54, No. 53 (30 December 1876), 870. The author continued: 'Schubert's success as a composer of songs had possibly some effect in delaying his success as an instrumental composer. People are so fond of assigning to each distinguished man some special department, beyond which he is forbidden to distinguish himself, that to some musical authorities it may have seemed out of the question, and not for one moment to be tolerated'. Undoubtedly the compartmentalizing of composers was a canonic and reception issue.
[93] Dahlhaus, *Foundations*, 99.
[94] Dahlhaus, *Beethoven*, 81.

importance of poetry in dictating the melodic line and the close relationship of the accompaniment with the story and emotion in the words. This dichotomy allowed Schubert's music to be appreciated by both proponents and detractors of the 'music of the future'. In the process of his canonization, Schubert's death in 1828 meant that he was compared to his contemporaries, above all Beethoven. Even the advocates of 'new' music could not separate him far enough from the over-bearing history that was Beethoven. In the face of this and the status that a Lied composer held, it is remarkable that Schubert's instrumental music was eventually canonized. Yet this was mostly down to the propagation of his works by musical societies, individual performers and writers.[95] Canonic formation is a dynamic process with its own fluctuations, which meant that some pieces were considered canonic, while others were not. What these chapters demonstrate is the overriding wave of canonicity that Schubert's pieces gained as the century progressed.

[95] See Chapters II and V of the present thesis.

CHAPTER V: THE INFLUENCE OF VICTORIAN VALUES UPON SCHUBERT'S IMAGE IN BIOGRAPHIES (1866-1883)

Biographies are 'most instructive and useful, as helps, guides, and incentives to others'.[1] This moralistic role has often been noted. According to Robert Partin, 'from the days of Plutarch (46-120) to the days of Lytton Strachey (1880-1932) almost all biography was written either for the purpose of making men "in love with virtue," or to point out to them "the hateful and horrid consequences of vice."'[2] Victorian biography, which was prone to hagiography particularly for the period 1840-1882, created subjects with 'exemplary lives' and required them to be 'paragons of professional and moral conduct for the purpose of educating the common reader.'[3] For the Victorian, the biography could shed light on the understanding of the artwork,[4] which consequently had implications for an artists' reception. Therefore, as Robert Skidelsky argued:

> Victorian biography reflected Victorian sensibility. Certain things were not talked about in decent society. Just as importantly, biography was regarded as exemplary. The Victorian age was one of hero-worship. [...] Morals increasingly needed the support of exemplary lives: lives which, in particular, stressed the strong connection between private virtue and public achievement.[5]

In his Robert Rede lecture in 1867, John Ruskin explained that music, 'which of all the arts is most directly ethical in origin, is also the most direct in power of discipline; the first, the simplest, the most effective of all instruments of moral instruction; while in the failure and betrayal of its functions, it becomes the subtlest aid of moral degradation'.[6] With continued relevance in 1887, the English composer, teacher and theorist, Henry

---

[1] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 19.
[2] Donald A. Stauffer, *The Art of Biography in Eighteenth Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941), 312, quoted in Robert Partin, 'Biography as an Instrument of Moral Instruction', *American Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Winter 1956), 303.
[3] Wiley, *Re-Writing*, 3. On the topic of hagiography, see Harold Nicolson, *The Development of English Biography* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1968), 125-127; and Juliette Atkinson, *Victorian Biography Reconsidered: A Study of Nineteenth-Century 'Hidden' Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 1-2. For further information on the Victorian biography, also see David Amigoni, *Life writing and Victorian culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); and David Amigoni, *Victorian Biography: Intellectuals and the Ordering of Discourse* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993).
[4] See Leonara Schmitz 'Robert Schumann', *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 2 (1 November 1865), 744.
[5] Robert Skidelsky, 'Only Connect: Biography and Truth', *The Troubled Face of Biography*, ed. Eric Homberger and John Charmley, (London: Macmillian Press, 1988), 5, quoted in Wiley, *Re-Writing*, 204.
[6] E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (ed.), *The Works of John Ruskin, Vol. 19* (London: George Allen, 1905), 176, quoted in Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 182.

Banister, wrote: 'Music does not stand alone, isolated, independent [...] *moral considerations* affect it as they do other matters.'[7] Demonstrating that the subject of the biography consistently exhibited exemplary behaviour (real or perceived) helped to validate inclusion in the musical canon.[8] Given the close link between moral conduct and artistic value, contemporary views on drinking, leisure, money, and hard work had a direct and predominantly negative correlation with Schubert's biography and œuvre.

Speaking of Victorian morals and values is undoubtedly problematic given that the Victorian period, when equated with Queen Victoria's reign, lasted more than sixty years. As discussed in the introduction, this period experienced considerable changes in nearly every aspect of life – including values, which not only changed over time, but also by living location (country versus city) and class, among others.[9] Yet some core values such as those relating to alcohol, finances and friendship impinged upon everyday life and affected how the majority of Victorians interacted with their world, including their relationship to music and its composers. Our focus is specific to the relationship between middle-class Victorian values and aspects of Schubert's biographies which were published between 1866 and 1883, and the implications this held for Schubert's reception.

1. BIOGRAPHICAL WRITINGS AND THEIR HANDLING OF SCHUBERT'S DRINKING HABITS

Various forms of life-writing on the composer proliferated at this time and occurred in tandem with his surging performance popularity. Alcohol was a vibrant topic of the period and as such Schubert's consumption was of prime importance. The temperance movement began in the 1830s and grew quickly. In 1833 there were approximately 50,000 members of temperance societies. A year later, this number had doubled.[10] Despite the lack of any major accomplishments, the temperance movement remained

[7] Henry C. Banister, *Musical Art and Study, Papers for Musicians* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1887), 46, quoted in Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 183. Italics are original to Banister.
[8] Wiley, *Re-Writing*, 3.
[9] See Asa Briggs, 'Victorian Values', *In Search of Victorian Values: Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Thought and Society*, ed. Eric M. Sigsworth (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 20 and 15. See pages 23ff for a discussion of how values changed over time. Politics and mainstream media often attempt to generalize this period into a common set of values. Margaret Thatcher, for example, once said that 'I was grateful to have been brought up by a Victorian grandmother. We were taught to work jolly hard; we were taught to prove ourselves; we were taught self-reliance; we were taught to live within our income'; see Briggs, 'Victorian Values', 10ff.
[10] Norman Longmate, *The Waterdrinkers: A History of Temperance* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1968), 60.

visible throughout the century. One prominent writer, William Cobbett, believed that sobriety commanded respect and argued against the need for drink for the 'purpose of carrying on conversation'. Women required no such thing and Cobbett 'admired their patience in sitting quietly at their work, while their husbands are engaged, in the same room with bottles and glasses before them, thinking nothing of the expense and still less of the shame which the distinction reflects upon them'.[11] Drunkenness was even more abhorrent.[12] As such, Schubert's drinking habits were a cause for concern, especially given the prominence of the temperance movement. Thus one author was forced onto the defensive so that Schubert's alcohol consumption was seen as moderate rather than excessive:

> He usually passed the evening over a glass of wine with his friends [...]. Any charge, however, of excess in drinking is refuted by the very number of his compositions, which indefatigable industry alone, and the devotion to them in all his spare time, could have accomplished.[13]

For this author and others, Schubert's demonstrable hard work ethic proved that he did not have the time to be a drunkard. This topic was also advanced by a Mr Gilbert at the Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in 1877. Following a sketch of Schubert's life, Gilbert deemed it necessary to 'refute the calumny that Schubert was given to intemperance, though a wine lover.'[14] However, one critic reprinted from his source:

> It is certain that Schubert loved good wine. Some have gone so far as to call him a drunkard, and there seems reason to believe that he sometimes

[11] William Cobbett, *Cobbett's Advice to Young Men* (London: 1829|R Middlesex: The Echo Library, 2006), 39.

[12] Cobbett, *Cobbett's Advice*, 23 and 13. Victorians frequently failed to distinguish between the terms alcoholism, drinking and drunkenness; see Brian Harrison, *Drink and The Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), 21. As such, I will not consider any major difference between these words in terms of Victorian values. Of course, drunkenness was considered worse than the occasional drink, but for our purposes it will be unnecessary to discriminate between these. Alcohol was a prominent issue in Victorian minds as evidenced in politics and contemporary journals. There is not enough space within this study to delve into the topic in any degree of detail given the complexity of the issue in this period. Articles discussing alcohol are not difficult to find in any nineteenth-century digitised newspaper archive. See, for example, Anon., 'Alcohol', *London Review of Politics, Society, Literature, Art, and Science*, Vol. 9, No. 223 (8 October 1864), 397; and Albert J Bernays, 'The Alcohol Question', *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. 33 (November 1878), 683-706. Scientists and doctors alike were taking part in this subject – for a summary of their involvement (including one of the above articles), see Anon., 'Alcohol and the Doctors', *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, Vol. 46, No. 1207 (14 December 1878), 745. A great text to begin understanding the complexity is the aforementioned book by Brian Harrison, *Drink and The Victorian*, which gives a chronological account of the political and social history of drink. Also see Lilian Lewis Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England* (London: Macmillian, 1988).

[13] *Manchester Times*, 20 December 1862. See also *Musical World*, Vol. 43, No. 22 (3 June 1865), 338.

[14] Anon., 'Lecture on Franz Schubert', *Musical Standard*, Vol. 12, No. 664 (21 April 1877), 243.

> exceeded the bounds of moderation. The same, however, is said of Beethoven, who was habitually moderate; but was led, by example or temptation, to exceed occasionally in one year of his life. Yet Schubert's excesses were certainly more frequent.[15]

The critic did not express his own views on the topic, as he must have felt that his source succinctly conveyed the necessary information. Schubert's drinking habits continued to arise in contemporary biographies, sometimes with varied approaches: in the *Manchester Times* example, his weakness was papered over, allowing his biography to be more palatable to those in support of the temperance movement; yet in others, Schubert's drinking habits were discussed openly.

2. EDWARD WILBERFORCE'S *FRANZ SCHUBERT: A MUSICAL BIOGRAPHY*

In early 1866, Edward Wilberforce published an abridgement (*Franz Schubert: A Musical Biography*) of a German book, *Franz Schubert: eine biographische Skizze* by Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn.[16] Appraisals of this book frequently contained mini-biographies of Schubert, in which authors constructed their own image of the composer. One writer discussed his stubbornness: Schubert refused to alter an aria that was being rehearsed at a trial for a conductor's post at the Kärnthnerthor Theatre.[17] Not only did this story show that Schubert was a 'troublesome man' to deal with, but his stubbornness was also named as part of the cause of his poverty, because he failed to obtain the post.

Although claiming that Wilberforce appreciated Schubert's genius, one reviewer made no attempt to positively portray the composer:

> It [Wilberforce's *Franz Schubert*] is however a melancholy record; it presents a painful picture of genius struggling with difficulties, which finally proved insurmountable, and sinking into an early grave, the victim of disappointed hopes [...]. Whilst delighting multitudes he [Schubert] was himself neglected, and his natural temperament was such that he preferred

[15] *John Bull*, 16 June 1866. His source was Edward Wilberforce's *Franz Schubert: A Musical Biography*. See below for a discussion of this book.

[16] Kreissle's book was originally published in Vienna in 1865. This German book and subsequent abridgements and translations served as a prominent source for all Victorian biographies on Schubert.

[17] This story was first told by Schindler in 1857. Schubert had composed a section of an opera-libretto and the music was in rehearsal, being sung by the 'ageing' soprano Nanette Schechner who broke down due to the difficulty of the music and her diminishing powers. This is 'pure invention' claimed Brown, since in May 1826 Schechner was twenty years old; see Brown, *Schubert*, 238. Furthermore, Brown queried why Schubert was asked to compose music, rather than conduct, when he was applying for a conductor's post. Thus, concluded Brown, it was probably Schubert's conducting that failed to please, and possible that Schechner 'could not accommodate her voice to arbitrary tempo or dynamics'; see Brown, *Schubert*, 238. Gibbs doubted the authenticity of this anecdote as well, but did not give further information; see Gibbs, *The Life of Schubert*, 123.

> quiet neglect to the honour and fame that might have been won by bold self-assertion.[18]

As Christopher Wiley has shown, a composer's ability to overcome adversity was directly linked to their greatness. That Beethoven succeeded in this manner and Schubert did not, correlated to their perceived abilities and therefore their reception.[19] However, in differentiating between the successes and failures of the two composers, nothing is said about Beethoven's patrons and the relative lack thereof in Schubert's case. Succeeding in Vienna required patrons, as there was a lack of public concerts (differing greatly from London).[20] Whilst in London musicians required a patronage of other musicians and public concert organizers, in Vienna, according to DeNora, it was 'virtually impossible for a local musician to build a successful concert career without the patronage of individual aristocratic concert hosts.'[21] In the 1790s and early 1800s there was a decline in the Hauskapellen and thus career musicians struggled in this climate.[22] As Tia DeNora illustrates, Beethoven's patrons where essential to his career; the security they provided allowed him to take artistic risks that he otherwise may not have been able to make.[23]

Schubert's financial status was taken to an extreme; the article's author saw his first years spent in 'penury', which therefore meant that this start in life 'forbade [...] the cultivation under which his powers might have attained their highest development'.[24] Discussing the numerous pieces the eighteen-year old Schubert had composed, he considered it 'obvious that much of this musical fructification must have been crude and imperfect; but the true wonder is that anything produced with such marvellous rapidity should possess sterling merits'.[25] Rapid composing implied a lack of toil. Hard work, sometimes referred to as industry, was paramount.

Samuel Smiles had much to say on the topic in his popular book, *Self-Help; with Illustrations of Character and Conduct*, writing that the biographies of the 'most distinguished inventors, artists, thinkers and workers of all sorts, owe their success, in a great measure, to their indefatigable industry and application'. Not even the 'simplest art'

---

[18] *Daily News*, 2 April 1866.
[19] Wiley, *Re-Writing*, 220.
[20] Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792-1803* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 53. On the subsequent pages DeNora gives a summary of the differences between Viennese and London musical life in the 1790s and early 1800s.
[21] DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius*, 55.
[22] DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius*, 50.
[23] DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius*, 60-71
[24] *Daily News*, 2 April 1866.
[25] *Daily News*, 2 April 1866.

can be accomplished without hard work.[26] In a chapter entitled 'Workers in Art', Smiles declared that although 'diligent application is no doubt absolutely necessary' for success, there must be an 'inherent faculty [...] the gift comes by nature, but is perfected by self-culture, which is of much more avail than all the imparted education of the schools'.[27] According to Smiles there are specific composers who demonstrated these requirements, such as Haydn, Mozart and Bach. Smiles believed that the cultivation of what he called force of purpose is of greatest importance – in other words hard work. Most importantly, 'nothing that is of real worth can be achieved without courageous working. Man owes his growth chiefly to that active striving of the will, that encounter with difficulty, which we call effort'.[28] Hard work will improve great talent, and it would supply any deficiency with moderate abilities. One must be thorough and accurate in study. For Smiles, 'it is not ease, but effort, – not facility, but difficulty that makes men'.[29] Thus, it was condemnation for Schubert to be shown as lazy. Not dissimilar to the *Manchester Times* article of 20 December 1862, this author made light of Schubert's drinking by claiming that it assisted the composer because his 'personal appearance was mean and unattractive, if not absolutely forbidding, and consciousness of this may possibly account for the touching resignation with which he would retire into a corner of some princely saloon, and listen to the praises heaped upon the performers of his music, whilst not one grateful word was addressed to the poor schoolmaster's son'.[30] The author pitied Schubert to the detriment of the reception of Schubert's works.

Overriding all these comments regarding Wilberforce's book, there is a sense of the Protestant work ethic that was prevalent in Victorian society. Argued both by Max Weber in 1905 and more recently by Jere Cohen in 2002, the Victorian ethic descended from various Protestant sects, yet we can speak of a single Protestant work ethic.[31] This ethic, with its 'moral companion, asceticism', was 'no longer a uniquely Protestant or even religious virtue, but had now become a generalized cultural virtue.'[32] Male identity in this period was modelled on this 'virtue' and required that all were required to work.

---

[26] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 72-73.
[27] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 135.
[28] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 203-205.
[29] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 318, 319 and 348.
[30] *Daily News*, 2 April 1866.
[31] George Lundskow, *The Sociology of Religion: A Substantive and Transdisciplinary Approach* (California: Pine Forge Press, 2008), 114. See Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (1905|R Los Angeles: Roxbury, 2002) and Jere Cohen, *Protestantism and Capitalism: The Mechanisms of Influence* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 2002).
[32] Lundskow, *Sociology*, 114-115.

Furthermore, 'thrift and sobriety were necessary for salvation.'[33] The refusal or inability to work was seen as a 'a moral and social sin.'[34] Placing Schubert's biography against this backdrop required authors to gloss over perceived inadequacies and anything that would be deemed inappropriate – such as the alcohol issues (working hard to overcome adversity and thrift as will be discussed shortly). Martin Danahay explains that the most important difference between the Protestant work ethic and how it manifested in Victorian culture was the 'internalization of the compulsion to work as a mark of masculine morality.'[35] Given that a good work ethic was central to Victorian way of life, it is no surprise that Schubert's degree of masculinity was often called into question especially as it related to Beethoven whose work ethic was demonstrably different. Whereas Schubert, according to Gibbs, was often depicted as effortlessly 'spinning forth [...] immortal melodic miniatures', Beethoven was said to be endlessly 'scribbling [...] sketches for monumental instrumental masterpieces.'[36] As the discussion in this chapter shows, Schubert's compositional habits should be viewed against the backdrop of this Victorian (Protestant) work ethic.

An article appearing in *John Bull* was generally more sympathetic, yet still critical. Of particular importance was the depiction of Schubert's life. Although the author considered it dull, there were 'some pleasant pictures of simple German family life, so natural, so spontaneous, where people don't work hard towards an object (as they do with us), but just cultivate quietly, for its own sake, any gift which they may possess'.[37] Schubert's work ethic was, therefore, treated as a cultural aspect rather than a personality trait which would clash with the Victorian work ethic. Therefore, positioning him in this way prevented readers from criticizing Schubert.[38] Contrary to many articles, the author mentioned Schubert's fast composing speed in a positive light.

3. ISSUES OF POVERTY IN BIOGRAPHICAL WRITINGS ON SCHUBERT

Nearly all authors reported on Schubert's poverty, with varying attitudes. Those sympathetic to him reported that he was born into poverty or blamed the publishers for rejecting his pieces or for paying a meagre fee. The authors who reported on Schubert's

[33] Martin A. Danahay, *Gender at Work in Victorian Culture: Literature, Art and Masculinity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 7.
[34] Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind*,189.
[35] Danahay, *Gender*, 8.
[36] See Gibbs, 'Images and Legends of the Composer', 50.
[37] *John Bull*, 16 June 1866.
[38] See Gramit, 'Constructing a Victorian Schubert', 70. This was exactly how Wilberforce explained Schubert's nonconformity with English values and was something commonly done in English biographies.

financial situation unfavourably are considerably more poignant to our discussion, since the concept of thrift was a component of Victorian ethics and the way they deal with the problem is vital to their reception of the composer. Nineteenth-century writers frequently advised that men ought to spend money 'prudently and sparingly, and to keep their expenses always within the bounds of their income, be it what it may'.[39] Another writer, Henry Taylor, devoted an entire chapter to the issue, in which he promoted conscientious spending habits.[40] Smiles also devoted a whole chapter to the topic, arguing that spending habits were representative of one's 'practical wisdom':

> Some of the finest qualities of human nature are intimately related to the right use of money, such as generosity, honesty, justice, and self-sacrifice; as well as the practical virtues of economy and providence. On the other hand, there are the counterparts of avarice, fraud, injustice, and selfishness, as displayed by inordinate lovers of gain; and the vices of thriftlessness, extravagance, and improvidence, on the part of those who misuse and abuse the means instructed to them.

Economizing was essential, yet Smiles further believed that anyone living from 'hand to mouth' was part of an inferior class.[41] This advice was not new, but it demonstrates the pressing issue of spending habits in an ever-growing industrial society, which had a greater number of shops than ever before, in a period that created the spending spree.[42] Thus, it was detrimental to Schubert's reception when one critic commented that, if Schubert had shown 'better management of his resources', his position in the world would have improved significantly.[43] A different author claimed that Schubert allowed opportunities 'to pass [him] by' that would have improved his financial status.[44] Yet another commented that 'Schubert was of dissolute habits, and he paid the penalty of excess. He was perverse, wilful, and obstinate in his business relations, the consequences

[39] Cobbett, *Cobbett's Advice*, 34.
[40] Henry Taylor, *Notes from Life in Six Essays* (London: 1847|R London: John Murray, 1849), 14.
[41] Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help*, 279, 285 and 282. For more information on Smiles and his numerous articles and books, see Asa Briggs, 'Samuel Smiles: The Gospel of Self-Help', *Victorian Values: Personalities and Perspectives in Nineteenth-Century Society*, ed. Gordon Marsden (London: Longman, 1998), 103-113; and Adrian Jarvis, *Samuel Smiles and the Construction of Victorian Values* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1997). It deserves to be said that Smiles did not believe he was extolling new information but rather 'something that was old and profoundly true, a gospel, not a thesis'; see Briggs, 'Samuel Smiles', 103.
[42] Smiles noted in his book *Thrift* that it came less naturally to working-class people who, when they found themselves with more money than was common, frequently went to the market and spent as much as they could, as quickly as possible, not just on necessities, but also a lot on luxuries; see Briggs, 'Victorian Values', 18.
[43] Anon., 'Franz Schubert', *Athenaeum*, Vol. 1997 (3 February 1866), 165.
[44] Anon., 'Franz Schubert', *Musical World*, Vol. 43, No. 22 (3 June 1865), 340.

of which were poverty and an early grave'.[45] Perceived negatively in the minds of moral Victorians, Schubert's penury was clearly his own fault.

4. THE APPENDIX WRITTEN BY GEORGE GROVE

Containing greater detail than Wilberforce's abridgement, Arthur Duke Coleridge's 1869 version of Kreissle's text became the major source for subsequent English biographies.[46] The Appendix written by George Grove is also noteworthy given his critical stance on Schubert's music. Regarding a concert in which Manns conducted Symphony No. 9 in C major, Grove saw the failure of the piece not only as a result of a small band and an unfavourable location of the concert hall, but also that the pieces were 'so long for ordinary ears'; it was no wonder that it 'achieved no success and awakened no enthusiasm'.[47] Obviously, it remains uncertain whether the symphony would have fared better under different performance conditions. Perhaps Grove was also implying a lack of economy employed by Schubert, which as previously discussed was a Victorian value.[48]

Considering the year was only 1869, Grove came to the remarkable conclusion that Schubert's place in the world was 'certain':

> Whether his Symphonies and Operas are published and performed now, or twenty years later, is not of much importance to his fame. He can afford to wait. They will assuredly be done some day or other, and then the world will find out what it has lost by waiting so long, and wonder that it did not recognise its jewel sooner.[49]

That Grove could make this conclusion regarding Schubert's operas is particularly striking in that few had been performed or published by 1869.[50] Regardless, Grove took it upon himself to promote and ensure Schubert's place in history sooner rather than later.

---

[45] Anon., 'Schubert', *Athenaeum*, Vol. 2363 (8 February 1873), 188.
[46] Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn, *The Life of Franz Schubert*, trans. Arthur Duke Coleridge (London: Longmans, Green, and Co.: 1869).
[47] Kreissle, *Franz Schubert, Vol. 2*, 298. Grove recalled this concert to have taken place in either 1856 or 1857. It is unclear as to why the location was unfavourable given that it was performed at the Crystal Palace; see Kreissle, *Franz Schubert, Vol. 2*, 298.
[48] Levy, 'Covert and Casual Values', 7.
[49] George Grove, 'Appendix' in Kreissle, *Franz Schubert, Vol. 2*, 331.
[50] Of Schubert's operas, as designated by the Grove Dictionary, those that had been published or performed prior to 1869 were: *Adrast* was first performed in December 1868 but not published until 1893, *Alfonso und Estrella*, was first performed in June 1854 and published in 1892, *Rüdiger* was first published in 1867 and performed in January 1868, *Fierrabras*, although the overture was often played in England, the entire opera was not published until 1886 and not performed in entirety until February 1897; Robert Winter, et al. 'Schubert, Franz.' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25109 (accessed 20 April 2009). Thus it is unlikely that Grove was familiar with many of Schubert's operas.

Articles reviewing Coleridge's book largely commented on Schubert's excessive drinking habits. One author, known only as H. C. L., claimed that Schubert sought 'excitement in wine to such an extent as actually to shorten his life.'[51] J. M. Capes also took this tone when he said that Schubert's drinking led to frequent headaches.[52] Yet another author commented that Schubert was 'improvident and fond of wine. He had a decided taste for low company, and he cultivated it liberally'.[53] Drinking coupled with Schubert's choice of friends was more problematic. For Cobbett, time should not be spent with drunkards or 'rioting companions'. But most fatal for Cobbett was the 'pipe-and-pot-companions', where nothing 'can be conceived more dull, more stupid, more the contrary of edification and rational amusement, than sitting, sotting, over a pot and a glass, sending out smoke from the head, and articulating, at intervals, nonsense about all sorts of things'.[54] Friends were very important – Cobbett cited the proverb: 'show me a man's *companions* and I will tell you *what the man* is'.[55] This was true for Cobbett because sober men will not associate with drunkards. Most objectionable were the 'tavern-haunters, the gay companions, who herd together to do little but *talk*, and who are so fond of talk that they go from home to get at it.'[56] Clearly then Schubert impinged on the Victorians' values in relation to drinking, money and choice of friends to the detriment of his œuvre.

5. REVEREND HUGH REGINALD HAWEIS' *MUSIC AND MORALS*

In 1871, Reverend Hugh Reginald Haweis (1838-1901) published *Music and Morals*. The book was popular, undergoing sixteen editions by the end of the 1800s.[57] A popular, 'distinguished and free-thinking' clergyman, he published several successful books including *My Musical Life* (1884), *Travel and Talk* (1897) and *Old Violins* (1898).[58]

[51] H. C. L., 'Franz Schubert', *Musical Times*, Vol. 14, No. 313 (1 March 1869), 10. Thaddeus Egg also promoted this idea in his article, 'Franz Schubert', *Musical World*, Vol. 47, No. 7 (13 February 1869), 99.
[52] J.M. Capes, 'Schubert', *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 5, No. 26 (February 1869), 203.
[53] Anon., 'Franz Schubert', *The London Review*, Vol. 18, No. 450 (13 February 1869), 159.
[54] Cobbett, *Cobbett's Advice*, 39.
[55] Cobbett, *Cobbett's Advice*, 19. Italics original.
[56] Cobbett, *Cobbett's Advice*, 19. Italics original.
[57] This was first published serially in the *Contemporary Review* in 1870-1871. *Music and Morals* reproduced Haweis' essay of 1866 on Schubert with only minor changes; see Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 183.
[58] Richard Henry Dana, *Hospitable England in the Seventies: The Diary of a Young American, 1875-1876* (no publisher or city given, 1921), 305. See also Anon, 'Obituary: Hugh Reginald Haweis', *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 42, No. 697 (1 March 1901), 195; and Edward Green, 'Music and The Victorian Mind: The Musical Aesthetics of the Rev. H.R. Haweis', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2008), 242.

Music and Morals, which is split into four 'books' – *Philosophical*, *Biographical*, *Instrumental*, and *Critical* – is noted not only for contribution 'to the moral rhetoric of rational recreation but it also influenced the work of social reformers by suggesting that certain melodic forms could awaken socially desirable emotions.'[59] Understanding Haweis' theory of music will be important in our analysis of his revisionist biography of Schubert. In the *Philosophical* section, Haweis related emotions to music: 'music is an arrangement or manipulation of sounds' which 'possesses all the properties of emotion.'[60] Numerous emotions are traversed hour after hour, and many of these are relatively dull and unimportant. This helps to explain the existence of dull music, which expresses 'what may be called neutral music'.[61] According to Haweis, composers believed that these neutral states called for musical expression, as do the higher intensities of emotion, because music covers all areas of life. Thus, 'there is a quantity of music – of Schubert, for instance – which seems hardly written for the public at all. It is the expression of unimportant and uninteresting successions of emotion, whose only merit consists in their being true to life'.[62] Art therefore arises out of the instinct to express the artists' thoughts and emotions. When this is directed towards 'great' subjects, then Art will have dignity. If this is done with fidelity and skill, then Art will have aesthetic worth, and when the general tendency is good, then Art can be called moral. Morality as a quality of Art depends on the artist. Aesthetically good Art can be a morally bad work. A work is immoral if 'the deliberate cultivation of unbalanced emotions' is 'merely for the sake of producing pleasure'.[63] To determine the morality of a work, Haweis put forward three questions:

1. 'Does the artist show that his sympathies lie with an unwholesome preponderance of horrible, degraded, or of simply pleasurable, as distinct from healthy, emotions?'

2. 'Is he for whipping the jaded senses to their work, or merely for rejoicing in the highest activity of their healthful exercise?'

3. 'Does he love what is good whilst acknowledging the existence of evil, or does he delight in what is evil, and merely introduce what is good for the vicious sake of trampling upon it?'[64]

[59] Chris Waters, *British Socialists and the Politics of Popular Culture, 1884-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 98-99.
[60] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 23.
[61] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 25.
[62] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 25-26.
[63] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 38-41.
[64] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 44.

For Haweis, when music has words, its morality is easily discernible. However, with instrumental music, one must remember that music, like emotion, does not always need definite thoughts and images to be 'healthful' or harmful (moral or immoral).[65]

Generally, German music is the ultimate example of moral music, especially in comparison with Italian music. This is most apparent when Haweis explained why Rossini's music is of lesser quality than Beethoven's:

> Not to mention the enormous resources in the study and cultivation of harmony, which the Italians, from want of inclination or ability, neglect, the German music is higher than the Italian because it is a truer expression, and a more disciplined expression, of the emotions. To follow a movement of Beethoven is, in the first place, a bracing experience of the intellect. The emotions evoked, whilst assuming a double degree of importance by association with the analytical faculty, do not become enervated, because in the masterful grip of the great composer we are conducted through a cycle of naturally progressive feeling, which always ends by leaving the mind recreated, balanced, and ennobled by the exercise.[66]

German music is of the first rank, specifically Gluck, Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Spohr, Mendelssohn, and Schumann.[67] Haweis was not alone in this regard. If we compare Haweis' book with three major biographical collections spanning thirty-five years, we see a pattern emerge. *The Great Tone Poets* (1874) by Frederick J. Crowest (to be discussed in detail later in this chapter) covered the following composers: Bach, Handel, Gluck, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Spohr, Weber, Rossini, Schubert, Mendelssohn, and Schumann. The 'Great Musician' series (1881-1890) edited by Francis Hueffer included: Weber, Purcell, Rossini, Schubert, Wagner, English church composers, Bach, Mozart, Handel, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Haydn, Cherubini, and Beethoven. The 'Master Musician' (1899-1906) series edited by Frederick J. Crowest had books on Beethoven, Wagner, Bach, Handel, Mendelssohn, Mozart, Haydn, Chopin, Schumann, Schubert, Brahms, and Tchaikovsky. Haweis and these three biographical collections all included Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn, and Schumann. Given Schubert's tenuous reception in England, his admittance is notable.

Schubert's inclusion in *Music and Morals* must be seen in relation to Haweis' views regarding English criticism and music:

---

[65] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 46.
[66] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 57.
[67] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 59. Although listed chronologically, no implication is given as to the hierarchy within German music at this point.

> Musical taste in England is degraded and kept low by jealousy and time-serving; [...] musical criticism is so gagged, and prejudiced, and corrupt that those whose business it is to see that right principles prevail, seem too often led by their interest rather than their duty. When it comes to judging a new composer, the truth is not told, or only half told.[68]

As we saw in Chapter I's discussion on nationalism, jealousy and prejudice were part of Schubert's early English reception and consequently, judgement of Schubert's music was often negative. Haweis, however, was able to separate himself from current mainstream thought, and in turn, given the popularity of this book, was able to influence exactly what he distanced himself from. However, his biography of Schubert is baffling because it conflicts with his philosophy of emotions and morals and their relation to music. In beginning the section on the composer in 'Biography', Haweis explained that 'in passing from the great gods of music to those other delightful tone-poets and singers whose works the world will not willingly let die, we could scarcely find any names more dear to the heart of the true musician than those of Franz Schubert and Frederic Chopin'.[69] However, earlier Schubert was grouped with the German composers, who are the masters of composition. The implication, therefore, was that Schubert was second rank within German composers because he wrote music for the heart rather than the mind, but first rank in comparison with composers of other nationalities.[70]

Haweis' slant on Schubert's biographical information is also problematic. After finishing his education, Schubert returned home and taught in his father's school. Haweis explained that his time as teacher 'was passed in this delightful occupation'.[71] Kreissle, his source, took a completely different line, writing that Schubert had a 'cordial dislike [for] his duties, but a zealous and conscientious discharge of them, he stuck to his post for three long years'.[72] For Haweis, teaching was moral and thus Schubert must have enjoyed educating others.

However, Schubert was not always presented in such a positive manner, and consequently his criticisms can be rather jarring. Relating Schubert's failures, Haweis informed his readers that singers frequently refused to sing his music and that his Ninth Symphony was too hard and therefore cast aside.[73] Haweis declared that 'much of this

---

[68] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 71.
[69] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 264.
[70] Interestingly, Chopin, a *Polish* composer, is grouped together with Schubert and there is no justification in this section or within the chapter devoted to Chopin, which is the only chapter within *Biographical* to be dedicated to a non-German.
[71] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 269.
[72] Kreissle, *Franz Schubert, Vol. 1*, 34. Yet other writers take a far darker tone. One such author, said the teaching was 'detestable to him'; see Anon., 'Franz Schubert', *Musical World*, Vol. 57, No. 39 (27 September 1879), 616.
[73] This critique occurred frequently throughout Europe; see Brown, *Schubert*, 299.

failure may be attributed, no doubt, to his constant refusal to modify his compositions, or write them down to the public taste.' At first glance the motif of a struggling, heroic artist who remains principled and uncompromising is present here. However, Haweis' negative tone prevents readers from drawing this conclusion, writing that Schubert's 'behaviour towards patrons and publishers was not conciliatory – he was born without the "get on" faculty in him, and was eminently deficient in what a modern preacher has called the "divine quality of tact"'.[74] No examples or explanations were given. The composer's qualities of stubbornness and self-possession are detected here, but Haweis made no allowance for Schubert's creative work. Instead, lacking a 'get on faculty' was condemning in light of the Victorian value of hard work and such a lack conflicts with Haweis' philosophy. By contrast, Beethoven was accorded the status of working 'too hard'.[75] Upon hearing that Beethoven was a 'morose, churlish, and ill-tempered man', Haweis felt that he would 'rather remember one who, in the midst of sufferings which we cannot estimate, and trials which we have not known, never lost his reverence for God, his deep and tender devotion to all that was highest in man, his patient forbearance with the weak and selfish, and a certain indomitable courage, wideness of vision, and power of will, which has raised him, the lonely worker to one of the most solitary pinnacles of Fame.'[76] Thus, Beethoven's demeanour and drinking in later life was more digestible to Haweis.

According to Haweis, there are three qualities in works belonging to the 'highest order of genius': 1-invention, 2-expression and 3-concentration.[77] Beethoven and Mozart had all three virtues, Mendelssohn had numbers two and three, Schumann one and three, and Schubert one and two. Schubert was a 'gifted dreamer' whose works involved numerous, unelaborated melodies, whereas Beethoven's were worked out through labour and concentration. Further condemnation for Schubert shortly followed:

> Everything dissolved itself into a stream of golden melody beneath his touch. All his instrumental works are full of melodies piled on melodies. We need not wonder at the number of his songs. He began by turning every poem he could get hold of into a song, and had he lived long enough he would have set the whole German literature to music. But he who [...] is always talking, is not always equally well worth listening to. Schubert composed with enormous rapidity, but seldom condensed or pruned sufficiently, and his music sometimes suffers from a certain slipper-and-dressing-gown style, suggestive of a man who was in the habit of rising late, and finishing his

[74] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 278.
[75] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 328.
[76] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 324-325.
[77] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 282.

> breakfast and half-a-dozen songs together. His warmest admirers cannot be quite blind to an occasional slovenliness in his accompaniments.[78]

This quotation is a reflection of Haweis' value system and available information on Schubert. Evidence at that time did not suggest that Schubert rejected poems which he considered unsuitable or that he sketched both songs and instrumental works.[79] However Haweis' descriptive vocabulary reveals that in his mind, Schubert was lazy and this was a 'moral laxity' – a 'damning omission in the minds of contemporary Victorians'.[80] Apart from identifying six types of songs (religious, supernatural, symbolical, classical, descriptive, songs of meditation, and songs of passion) and giving examples of each, nothing is said regarding the poets; nor is any analysis undertaken.

Haweis' explanation of the biographies of Schubert's friends conflicted with his moral stance. Of Schober, Haweis deduced from Kreissle that he 'lived a quiet bachelor life with his widowed mother'.[81] Discussing Vogl, he poignantly explained that even though he sang opera for twenty years, he never lost his religious habits from his days in the seminary.[82] Although opera could not be considered moral, Vogl's morality was unquestioned because he held to his religious customs all his life. Both Schober's and Vogl's written biography seem to mesh with Haweis' philosophy and Cobbett's beliefs in friendship choices. Mayrhofer's biographical details, however, present a different picture. Haweis briefly described his conflicting passions and eventual suicide. In comparison with Kreissle, he minimized Mayrhofer's censorship role with the government and provided many more details of the suicide.

The ethics of suicide were a prominent subject in the nineteenth century. In 1823, Parliament abolished the religious penalties for suicide, yet waited until 1870 to repeal the forfeiture of property. This repeal 'simply recognized that the law had rarely been applied for decades, since coroners' juries presumed that the majority of suicides were [committed by] insane [people].'[83] It was not until 1961, though, that the common-law felony of self-murder was repealed.

Suicide was viewed with fear and aversion by most Christians believing it to be a sin against God. The church, due to challenges by scientific progress and religious doubt in the 1850s, became more vocal on the topic, with its conservatives believing that suicide was obtaining greater currency because of the verdicts by coroners' juries. Thus

---

[78] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 288.
[79] For further information see Brown, *Schubert*, 4 and 208.
[80] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 185.
[81] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 271
[82] See Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 273.
[83] Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 70.

these changes in law were not without opposition. Considering this stance, it is strange that Haweis chose to dive into the details of Mayrhofer's suicide.

L. J. Nicoletti argues that Victorian London's popular culture 'routinely feminised suicide.'[84] Despite male suicide rates that were three to four times that of women, scenes of suicidal women were so common that, in 1860, *Lloyds Weekly Newspaper* reported that 'a girl standing at a riverside in the early morning might attract casual joking calls of "What, are you going to drown yourself so early?"'[85] This feminisation of suicide makes the inclusion of Mayrhofer's death in Haweis' writing even stranger. As previously mentioned, Haweis was noted as being a 'free-thinking' clergyman.[86] Whilst he appears not to have stated his views on suicide in print, he was, perhaps, more lenient on this issue.

Messing oversimplifies the problems inherent in Haweis' biography of Schubert. He argues that Haweis was able to overlook the negative aspects of Schubert's life because of his high-quality songs, which were part of the German school.[87] But this cannot explain the inclusion of Mayrhofer's suicide, which for nineteenth-century audiences reflected poorly upon Schubert's choice of friends. Messing also argues that Haweis glossed over controversial elements of the lives of the composers he wrote about, which of course is only partly true. As an example, Messing writes: 'in order to avoid the unpleasant details of Schumann's mental decline, for example, Haweis simply chose not to write about his career'.[88] Haweis did not include Schumann in his biographies, but neither did he include many other composers such as Weber. Furthermore, if he did not want to discuss Schumann's mental decline, then it would have been unlikely that Haweis would have mentioned a suicide – yet he did.

There does not seem to be a clear-cut answer to the issues of Haweis' writings. He did not consistently glorify and amend his writing to depict morality, which is quite common in biographies of this period. Yet because of these contradictions in his writing, Haweis is in a sense the quintessential Victorian given that this era was contradictory in nature.[89] In Haweis' writings, he constantly grapples with a 'conflict of opposites: the desire for *intensity* of experience – for intellectual and emotional adventure, and also for

[84] L. J. Nicoletti, 'Morbid Topographies: Placing Suicide in Victorian London', *A Mighty Mass of Brick and Smoke: Victorian and Edwardian Representations of London*, ed. Lawrence Phillips (Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V., 2007), 7.
[85] Nicoletti, 'Morbid Topographies', 9, who cites *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 17 March 1861, 3.
[86] Dana, *Hospitable England*, 305.
[87] See Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 184-185.
[88] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 183.
[89] Green, 'Music and The Victorian Mind', 239.

the concurrent and equally powerful desire for *restraint* and proportion.'[90] Perhaps it is this conflict that we see in this biography. If this book was written earlier, it most surely would have had a negative effect on Schubert's reception and, thus perhaps, Haweis recognised that the time was right for his revisionist biography whereby no absolute judgement was required. Regardless, *Music and Morals* was highly successful, amongst other well-received books, causing Edward Green to label him the 'most popular author of the Victorian age.'[91] As such, Haweis' book is a valuable tool in understanding Victorian morals of hard work, dedication and concentration as they relate to music.

6. FREDERICK CROWEST'S *THE GREAT TONE-POETS*

Frederick Crowest's *The Great Tone-Poets: Being Short Memoirs of the Greater Musical Composers* is a conglomeration of new writings and a series of articles aimed at the general reader and musician originally written for *Et Cetera* Magazine.[92] Crowest (1850-1927) worked as a musical writer, organist, choir director, tenor singer (under the name Arthur Vitton) and singing teacher.[93] Published in 1874, *The Great Tone-Poets* was already in its seventh edition by 1891. In his discussion of Schubert, Crowest omitted his own sources and created a sympathetic picture of a struggling composer. Schubert was essentially a song writer who 'complete[d] the stately and strong columns on which the vast edifice of modern musical art rests'.[94]

He also protected the image of Schubert by avoiding the facts that Schubert's instrumental music (Symphony No. 4 in C minor and No. 5 in B flat major) and dramatic music (*Die vierjährige Posten*,[95] *Die Freunde von Salamanka*, *Die Bürgschaft*, *Prometheus*, and others) were unsuccessful in obtaining performances or publication until well after his death. Instead he wrote that these works were not the

> mere precocious efforts lacking the touch of a matured musician, they are the works of a genius of immense creative powers, with a rare sense of the beautiful and true, and a familiarity with the art of composition, which the study of a hundred years could never have made him more intimate with.[96]

[90] Green, 'Music and The Victorian Mind', 243. Italics original.
[91] Green, 'Music and The Victorian Mind', 242.
[92] Crowest, *Tone-Poets*, v.
[93] Wiley, *Re-Writing*, 183-184.
[94] Crowest, *Tone-Poets*, 288.
[95] The current Schubert article in *Grove Online* dates this piece as 1815, and *Die Freunde von Salamanka* as the end of 1815, possibly early 1816; see Winter, 'Schubert, Franz'.
[96] Crowest, *Tone-Poets*, 293.

Firstly, he implicitly attacked those critics who claimed that Schubert was unschooled in the methods of composition. Secondly, Crowest ignored the fact that these relevant works were indeed largely unknown in Schubert's lifetime and that, even in England, they were just beginning to be known – especially Schubert's dramatic music. The table below outlines the dates of publication and first performances of those symphonic and dramatic works mentioned by Crowest.

Table 8: Dates of Publication Compared with First Performances		
Piece	**Year of first publication**	**Place and Year of first performance if known**[97]
Symphony No. 5 in B flat major	1884	Leipzig, 1849
Symphony No. 4 in C minor	1885	Vienna, 1816
Der vierjährige Posten	1888	Dresden, 23 September 1896
Die Freunde von Salamanka	1888	Halle, 6 May 1928
Die Bürgschaft	1893	7 March 1908
Prometheus	Lost	--

From this table it becomes clear that Crowest defended works that were not published at the time of his writing in 1874, but also, at least for the dramatic works, had never been performed anywhere. It is possible that he heard the British premiere performances of Symphonies No. 4 and No. 5 at the Crystal Palace on 28 February 1868 and 1 February 1873 respectively. The scores had been published in an arrangement for four hands,[98] thus Haweis may have studied these versions, as was common practice. Yet we must doubt whether he even saw the score of the dramatic works before his endorsement. The possibility exists that he saw an original score, transcription or arrangement such as for four hand piano; however, I have not found any sources about Crowest that provide information that would allow me to determine if he had access to the manuscript. From George Grove's article on Schubert in the *Dictionary* we do know that *Der vierjährige Posten*'s only version was in manuscript form.[99] *Prometheus* was lost and has never been seen since Schubert's death. Nonetheless, Crowest's appreciation must be seen as questionable.

Of Schubert's compositional style, Crowest propagated the common view at the time that this was an easy and fast task for him. He added that 'when writing, his whole

[97] All dates for table from Winter, 'Schubert, Franz', apart from the place and year of first performances of Symphony No. 5 and No. 4 which come from H.P. Clive, *Schubert and His World: A Biographical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), xv; and Franz Schubert, *Symphony No. 4 in C minor, D417, 'Tragic'* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2002), cover page.
[98] See Grove, 'Schubert', *Dictionary of Music, Vol. III*, 375.
[99] Grove, 'Schubert', *Dictionary of Music, Vol. III*, 375.

being is said to have been absorbed in music; his compositions had such an effect on him, that eye-witnesses affirm they could frequently observe, in his flashing eye and altered speech, that he was labouring under intense excitement'.[100] This kind of physical effect on the body whilst composing is conventionally connected to the concept of genius.[101] Biographers frequently commented on their subjects' speed of composition – such as Wagner finishing *Der fliegende Holländer* in seven weeks and Mozart's last three symphonies in about two months.[102] Yet the Victorian period struggled to come to terms with speed as opposed to working hard. Great composition was often 'presented as a spontaneous endeavour rather than the product of extensive intellectual labour, deriving from the heart and soul rather than the mind.'[103] Yet, Victorians also felt that if 'great music poured impulsively from the soul, then its composers would need to subject neither themselves nor their works to prolonged periods of development, which was inconsistent with the industrious labour that the biographers saw as being necessary to realize creative genius.'[104] Maintaining this contradiction allowed Victorians to accept the different composing methods of Schubert and Beethoven for example, albeit with some reservations as already highlighted in the case of Schubert.

Not all of the biography is positive. Much like other Victorian writers, Crowest commented on Schubert's drinking habits, writing that he was 'fond of wine', which led him to drink too much on occasion when at the 'inn' with friends where he would become 'noisy and rather unpleasant society'.[105] Much of the Victorian discussion around Schubert's drinking habits stems from a translation problem of the German *Kaffeehaus*, which has no equivalent in Victorian society, according to Brown. Thus it was translated and understood in a variety of ways – 'inn' being one such meaning and yielding problems with Victorian values relating to alcohol. Grove in his entry on Schubert in the *Dictionary*, for example, tried to equate it with the English 'club' in order to, according to Brown, 'excuse Schubert's use of it, and to talk about the amount of drink consumed there'. Brown deduced from the brothers', Franz and Fritz Hartmann, diaries that the 'coffeehouses' were mainly used as a meeting place.[106]

---

[100] Crowest, *Tone-Poets*, 294-297.
[101] For more information, see Logan Pearsall Smith, *Four Words: Romantic, Originality, Creative, Genius* (Folcroft, PA: Folcroft Press, 1969).
[102] Wiley, *Re-Writing*, 276, whose sources were Charles A. Lidgey, *Wagner*, 'The Master Musicians' series (London: Dent, 1899), 25; and Eustace J. Breakspeare, *Mozart*, 'The Master Musicians' Series (London: Dent, 1902), 128.
[103] Wiley, *Re-Writing*, 276. The Victorians were not alone. Katherine Ellis in *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France*, 25, noted a similar trend in nineteenth-century France.
[104] Wiley, *Re-Writing*, 276.
[105] Crowest, *Tone-Poets*, 297.
[106] Brown, *Schubert*, 252. The Hartmann brothers moved within the Schubert circle.

Generally, however, Crowest tried to create sympathy for Schubert as is evidenced in his description and interpretation of a change in the disposition of Schubert:

> Suddenly poor Schubert was seized with a dreadful feeling of depression, which at times drove him almost to despair. No doubt the failure of so many hopes, his long-continued struggle with the music publishers, the broken promises to perform his operas at the theatre, his want of money, and the common necessaries of life, in spite of his constant activity and working, these, and perhaps the sad memories of his unrequited love [for Caroline Esterházy] [...] all tended to bring on this unhappy and desponding state of mind.[107]

Crowest stressed that Schubert was a hard worker, and blamed the publishers and Schubert's living arrangements for his death. According to Crowest, in 1828 Schubert's music was gaining attention from publishers, but 'had they come earlier they might have saved the wrecked constitution, shattered for the want of bread, and life's commonest necessaries'. Unable to leave Vienna, Schubert remained in the Neuen Wieden, where 'most likely he frequently sat for hours in the chilly atmosphere of this room, absorbed in his beloved work of composing, and unknowingly sowing the seeds of the disease which so soon terminated fatally'.[108] This statement transfers the blame from Schubert to the publishers, thus eliciting sympathy from readers and justifying Schubert's story in light of Victorian values.

7. SCHUBERT'S 'ROMANTIC' INTERESTS AS SEEN BY ENGLISH BIOGRAPHERS

How authors handle Schubert's romantic interest reflects upon their values. Kreissle's two English translators, Wilberforce and Coleridge, unsurprisingly include similar details. Wilberforce wrote that despite only one romantic 'episode' with Caroline Esterházy and never appearing to think of marriage, Schubert 'was certainly susceptible as regarded the fair sex,' though 'he did not show his feelings as openly as would most men of like imaginative power.'[109] Coleridge's version was that Schubert 'often made himself merry at the expense of any friends of his who fell in love. He too was by no means proof against the tender passion, but never seriously compromised himself. Nothing is known of any lasting passion, and he never seems to have thought seriously about matrimony; but he certainly coquetted with love, and was no stranger to the deeper

[107] Crowest, *Tone-Poets*, 307-308. The lack of details relating to Schubert's disease is in fact common for biographies of this time period; health issues were simply not discussed in any detail.
[108] Crowest, *Tone-Poets*, 310-311.
[109] Edward Wilberforce, *Franz Schubert: A Musical Biography, from the German of Dr Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn* (London: W. H. Allen, 1866).

and truer affections.'[110] Both authors were quite adamant that although Schubert's history was lacking in romantic affairs and never married, he was interested in romance. In order to help their cause, details of Schubert's feelings and the lack of reciprocity on behalf of Caroline are given. Yet both authors scaled down from the original. Wilberforce argued that 'biography is not to be made an engine for the diffusion of idle gossip'.[111] Coleridge must have agreed if only partially as he cut out Kreissle's subheading, 'Schubert as Concerns the Female Sex', which Messing supposes was to 'forestall the arousing of lurid interests among readers who might casually peruse the table of contents.'[112] By contrast, Crowest only detailed Schubert's amorous feelings towards Caroline.[113] None of these authors discuss Caroline's young age, whereas Haweis wrote that 'we may suppose that Schubert kept his own counsel at first, and was never indiscreet enough to press his suit. The little girl was far too young.'[114] Yet Haweis too commented that Schubert was not 'insensible to the charms of other women'.[115] Themes of age and Schubert's interest in other women despite biographical evidence are present in biographies in periodicals of the composer as well.[116] The *Leeds Mercury* compactly stated that 'the young lady [Caroline] was only eleven years of age, and little or no evidence is offered on the subject.'[117] The *Musical World* followed the story of Caroline with the statement that Schubert was 'by no means addicted' to falling in love.[118] Contrarily though, the same periodical some years earlier published that Schubert was 'far from being indifferent towards the fair sex'.[119] Although a few writers made clear that there was little proof of

[110] Kreissle, *Franz Schubert, Vol. 1*, 142-143.
[111] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 183, who quoted Wilberforce, *Franz Schubert*, 262.
[112] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 183.
[113] Crowest, *Tone-Poets*, 298-299.
[114] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 275.
[115] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 276.
[116] Questions surrounding Schubert's romantic affairs took a different turn in more recent scholarship, when Maynard Solomon and Rita Steblin debated the possibility of Schubert being homosexual; see Maynard Solomon, 'Franz Schubert and the Peacocks of Benvenuto Cellini', *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Spring 1989), 193-206; and Rita Steblin, 'The Peacock's Tale: Schubert's Sexuality Reconsidered', *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Summer 1993), 5-33. Many authors weighed in on this topic then and a few years later; see Susan McClary, 'On the Steblin/Solomon Debate', *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Summer 1993), 83-88; and Kristina Muxfeldt, 'Political Crimes and Liberty, or Why Would Schubert Eat a Peacock?', *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Summer 1993), 47-64.
[117] *Leeds Mercury*, 13 February 1866. Caroline's age continued to be an issue with Henry Frederic Frost in 1885 criticising Kreissle 'for suggesting that the composer could possibly have fallen in love with Caroline [...] when she was thought to be a girl of eleven'; see Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 183, whose source was Henry Frederick Frost, *Schubert* (London: S. Low, Marston & Co., 1885), 66-67.
[118] Anon., 'Franz Schubert', *Musical World*, Vol. 57, No. 39 (27 September 1879),616.
[119] Anon., 'Franz Schubert', *Musical World*, Vol. 43, No. 22 (3 June 1865), 339.

Schubert's love attachments,[120] most were content to partake in storytelling that would make biographies of Schubert more palatable to their readers.

8. GEORGE GROVE'S ARTICLE ON SCHUBERT

The sixty pages Grove filled discussing Schubert in *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* reveal his high regard for the composer.[121] Handel's entry encompasses only nine pages, Haydn's twenty-one, Hummel's less than two, Spohr's seven, Wagner's twenty-eight, and Weber's forty-five. Even when we look at articles written by Grove, the length is short compared to his article on Schubert – Beethoven's article is forty-seven pages, Mendelssohn's fifty-seven (this is the closest article in length to Schubert's in the entire edition), and Robert Schumann's forty pages. The astounding length does not represent Schubert's place in England at the time of Grove's writing; nor from these figures may it be assumed that the length of other entries was equivalent to their respective reception, as Handel's nine pages quickly demonstrate.[122]

Grove considered Schubert a genius: 'The *Convict* [where Schubert attended school] has much to answer for in regard to Schubert. It was entrusted with the most poetical genius of modern time'.[123] Schubert was a natural genius, one born with ability, as is clear when Grove discussed how Schubert's theory teacher, Ruzicka, claimed that he 'already knew all he could teach him, and must have "learned direct from heaven."'[124] However Grove proclaimed, 'if all masters adopted this attitude towards their pupils, what would have become of some of the greatest geniuses?'[125] Grove evidently believed that geniuses required education so that they could be taught to achieve. In light of

[120] In addition to the *Leeds Mercury* article mentioned previously, for a good example, see Joseph Bennett, 'Franz Schubert', *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 38, No. 647 (1 January 1897), 12-13.
[121] George Grove (ed.), *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A.D. 1450-1883) By Eminent Writers, English and Foreign with Illustrations and Woodcuts in Four Volumes* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1879, 1880, 1883, 1889).
[122] See Langley, 'Roots of a Tradition', 187.
[123] Grove, 'Schubert', *Dictionary of Music, Vol. III*, 321.
[124] Grove, 'Schubert', *Dictionary of Music, Vol. III*, 321. Two of Schubert's music teachers claimed much the same thing. Michael Holzer, choirmaster and organist at the parish church in Lichtental, reportedly said, 'if I wanted to teach him something new, he already knew it'. According to Spaun, Wenzel Ruzicka, teacher at the Convict, professed that 'I can teach him nothing, he has learnt it from God himself'. These teachers are usually quoted to prove Schubert's 'God-given talents,' which 'serve to legitimate Schubert's natural genius'. But facts are neglected surrounding his actual musical education and his use of models; see Gibbs, *The Life of Schubert*, 26. Holzer's and Spaun's quotations taken from Otto Erich Deutsch (ed.), *Schubert: Memoirs By His Friends* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1958), 34 and 128 respectively. Grove was not alone in considering Schubert a natural composer; see Gibbs, 'Images and Legends of the Composer', 49.
[125] Grove, 'Schubert', *Dictionary of Music, Vol. III*, 321.

Schubert's apparent deficiency, Grove considered him lucky in his creation of so many valuable compositions, yet argued that the composer would have benefited from further study – and it could be argued that even Schubert was aware of in his last days when he organized counterpoint lessons.[126]

Describing Schubert as 'poor' arose frequently in both Grove's writing and that of other contemporaries. When discussing his operas, Grove explained that there were no performances until twenty-six years after 'poor' Schubert's death.[127] It evoked sympathy in its reference to his early death, his financial status and also the neglect from the Viennese musical public:[128] 'it is absolutely distressing to think of such extraordinary ability, and such still more extraordinary powers of work, being so cruelly thrown away, and of the sickening disappointment which these repeated failures must have entailed on so simple and sensitive a heart as his.'[129] 'Poor' Schubert was to be pitied; he was someone who suffered. Romantic thought in England believed that one had to suffer to be deep. There was a clear link between suffering and creative inspiration.[130] Therefore by

[126] Grove was not the only Victorian to consider Schubert's musical education lacking, although recent biographers argue against this. Having first learned the basics from his brother, Ignaz, he then learned organ playing, singing and composition from Michael Holzer, organist of the Liechtental Parish Church. His education here must have been of a high enough quality to have obtained him, through a competitive examination, a place in the Imperial Choir, which was publicly advertised throughout Vienna. This place in the choir led him to be admitted to the *kaiserlich-königliches Stadtkonvikt*. Here the choristers received not only a general education, but a systematic musical training. 'It is doubtful whether Schubert, not being of wealthy or noble parentage, could have had a finer education anywhere in Vienna than he obtained at this school', and the opportunities for Schubert were great. Additionally Schubert received composition instruction from Anton Salieri; see Brown, *Schubert*, 13-14, see pages 13-18 for a more detailed look. Of the Convict, Gibbs firmly stated that Schubert 'benefited from the best musical training available in Vienna'; see Gibbs, 'Images and Legends of the Composer', 39.

[127] See Grove, 'Schubert', *Dictionary of Music, Vol. III*, 335. Grove is correct in his date of 1854. See the works list in Winter, 'Schubert, Franz'. Schubert was the first to apply this term to himself at the age of fifteen. In a letter to his brother asking for money whilst away at school, he signed 'your loving, poor, hopeful and again poor brother Franz'; see Gibbs, 'Images and Legends of the Composer', 38; and Deutsch, *Biography*, 28. Schubert's friends also used this term ('armer Schubert'); see Deutsch's *Memoirs*, 14, 116, 132 139, 202, 229, 233, 252, 254, cited in Gibbs, 'Images and Legends of the Composer', 293 footnote 1.

[128] See Gibbs, 'Images and Legends of the Composer', 36. Although 'the idea of the unrecognized artistic genius, the artist who valiantly struggles for acceptance and yet is inexplicably ignored by the world until after his death, continues to hold a popular attraction', Gibbs argued that, in fact, Schubert was undiscovered rather than neglected; see Gibbs, 'Images and Legends of the Composer', 46-48. Gibbs also contended that Schubert's income in his 'maturity far exceeded what would be expected given his humble family origins'. The problem was that Schubert had irresponsible spending habits; see Gibbs, 'Images and Legends of the Composer', 47-48. This would have been problematic in terms of Victorian values had this been discussed.

[129] Grove, 'Schubert', *Dictionary of Music, Vol. III*, 338.

[130] See Robert Bledsoe, 'Mendelssohn's Canonical Status in England, the Revolutions of 1848, and H. F. Chorley's "Retrogressive" Ideology', *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies, Volume 2*, ed. Jeremy Dibble and Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 151; and Jim Samson, 'Chopin Reception: Theory, History, Analysis', *Chopin Studies 2*, ed. John Rink and Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3.

continually referring to Schubert as 'poor', his artwork was automatically elevated. As Wiley has shown, a composer's 'ability to overcome adversity was linked [...] to their greatness.'[131] Thus, Schubert's ability to write 'great' music despite being overlooked and struggling both financially and in terms of his health helped to raise his status.

Grove's sources were mostly Germanic, such as *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst*. He also used a biographical sketch by Ferdinand Schubert that was published in Schumann's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*.[132] His major source was both the original German and Coleridge's translation of Kreissle's biography of Schubert. Examining this source is particularly useful, not only because the English translation was published in 1869, but also because it will show how Grove researched, constructed and drew conclusions in his version of Schubert's biography. Grove omitted many of the anecdotes from Kreissle's account and generally referenced facts and letters for which there was not enough space for reproduction in the *Dictionary* or which he could not verify himself.[133] Since Grove was involved in Coleridge's translation, the direct quotations purporting to be Schubert's own words are extremely important.

Whilst often including the same stories as Kreissle, Grove's conclusions were frequently different. For instance, Kreissle explained that Schubert was 'not anxious to continue his studies, especially as he would have been obliged to submit to another examination',[134] which implied laziness to a Victorian audience. Grove, by contrast, suggested that Schubert declined this opportunity due to the poet, Theodor Körner, who was in Vienna at the time and was known 'to have influenced him [Schubert] in deciding to throw himself entirely into music'.[135] Grove's source was Spaun and not Kreissle for this fact, although Grove does note that there is no proof; Körner's general correspondence from this period does not mention Schubert. It was a tenuous assertion to make as Grove could verify this fact no better than could Kreissle; however his

[131] Wiley, *Re-Writing*, 220.
[132] Ferdinand Schubert, 'Aus Franz Schuberts Leben', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, published in segments, 23 April – 3 May 1839.
[133] See Grove, 'Schubert', *Dictionary of Music, Vol. III*, 350. For instance, Grove wrote: 'This rests on the authority of Kreissle' (Grove, 'Schubert', *Dictionary of Music, Vol. III*, 351).
[134] Kreissle, *Franz Schubert, Vol. 1*, 33-34.
[135] Grove, 'Schubert', *Dictionary of Music, Vol. III*, 321. Schubert would have received a grant from the Meerfeld endowment fund, providing he improved his mathematics. Brown hypothesized that Schubert rejected the offer 'in part due to his father's persuasion, [and] in part the outcome of his own self-realisation'; see Brown, *Schubert*, 21. Gibbs cited evidence on behalf of both Brown and Grove. Ferdinand Schubert reported that Franz 'left the Seminary owing to his extraordinary attachment to music'. According to Spaun – Schubert 'decided, with his father's consent, to leave the Seminary and to give up his studies as well, in order to be able to devote his life to art undisturbed'. Spaun also recalled that Körner 'encouraged Schubert to live for art'; see Gibbs, *The Life of Schubert*, 34 and Deutsch's *Memoirs*, 36, 19, and 129 respectively.

interpretation assumed a planned and thoughtful action. Yet another case of differing conclusions occurred regarding Schubert's failed application for the post of director at Laibach. Kreissle applauded the commentary of the two testimonials Schubert had received. Of Salieri's he wrote: 'As it was Salieri who examined the other candidates for the office, his deliberately expressed opinion in Schubert's favour is very commendable'.[136] Grove, however, wrote that the testimonials 'were so cold in tone as to imply that however much they valued Schubert, they believed his qualifications not to be those of the head of a large establishment.'[137] Grove repeatedly defended Schubert in order to portray him in the best possible Victorian light. After transposing a song by Schubert, Johann Michael Vogl placed the new version at the composer's keyboard. Yet Schubert appeared not to recognize his own work and questioned the song's composer. Coleridge's translation included the conclusion that 'on this occasion, after the lapse of two weeks, he could not remember his own work'.[138] Grove, however, deduced that 'so completely, in a fortnight, had it vanished from his mind!'[139] The degree of empathy of these writers is quite different, with Grove's objective appearing to disregard the problem. To do so, he invoked humour (even including an exclamation point).

Perhaps the most obvious example of empathy concerns the *Variations on a French Air*, Op. 10, composed in 1822. Dedicated to Beethoven, the myth surrounding the *Variation* is that Schubert went to present the piece to Beethoven in person. However, there are two original versions of this story. In Josef Hüttenbrenner's account Beethoven was out when Schubert tried to visit. Kreissle elaborated that Hüttenbrenner heard this from Schubert himself, whereas Grove thought it was an invention of Anton Diabelli,

---

[136] Kreissle, *Franz Schubert, Vol. 1*, 110. The other reference was from Joseph Spendou, who was the 'Schubert family's special patron.' His testimonial is lost; see Deutsch, *Biography*, 56.

[137] Grove, 'Schubert', *Dictionary of Music, Vol. III*, 324. Gibbs noted that although Salieri's recommendation may not appear as a 'ringing endorsement […] it was intended simply to convey that he had interviewed the candidates, considered Schubert the best among them, and therefore found it unnecessary for him to take an examination to confirm his musical abilities'; see Gibbs, *The Life of Schubert*, 52.

[138] Kreissle, *Franz Schubert, Vol. 1*, 123.

[139] Grove, 'Schubert', *Dictionary of Music, Vol. III*, 328. Brown stated that this story stemmed from Baron Schönstein (a friend of Count Esterházy, whose children were taught by Schubert) to illustrate the popular idea that Schubert was '"clairvoyant," by which was meant that he composed in a state of hyper-physical, trance-like excitement: a kind of unknowing vehicle for the Muses who forgot his work when it was out of his system'. Schönstein, however, could not recall the specific song. According to Brown, if Schubert did query the piece, it was intended as a reprimand, as Vogl often embellished and ornamented; see Brown, *Schubert*, 333-334. Gibbs, however, attributed the story to Vogl, as he constantly told anecdotes about Schubert not distinguishing between his own songs and those of others. Gibbs argued that if Schubert did indeed question the authorship, Vogl must have misunderstood this ironic comment – 'when he [Vogl] transposed or embellished a song, as he often did, it was no longer Schubert's'; see Gibbs, *The Life of Schubert*, 62. Much like Grove frequently did, both Brown and Gibbs come across as attempting to justify Schubert's response and positively portray the composer.

created to protect Schubert. The other version was reported by Anton Schindler, Beethoven's untrustworthy biographer, according to whom Beethoven was at home and immediately studied the score. Kreissle explained that 'Beethoven [...] stumbled on some inaccuracy of harmony [...] drew the young man's attention to the fault, adding that the fault was no deadly sin'.[140] Grove, however, wrote that 'Beethoven [...] seeing something that startled him, naturally pointed it out'.[141] In Kreissle's version, Schubert made a mistake, whereas in Grove's, Beethoven was merely startled. Grove was careful not to direct the blame and defended Schubert's reaction of running out of the house, whereas Kreissle noted that Schubert 'rebuked himself unsparingly'.[142] Biographies of the period tell this story with varying amounts of detail and empathy. Haweis, for example, wrote that after Beethoven pointed out some mistakes, Schubert's 'hand shook [Beethoven's deafness required visitors to write instead of speak] so from nervousness that he could do and say nothing, and left in the greatest vexation and disappointment'.[143] Whilst this is quite similar to Kreissle's version of events, Kreissle did include the slight disparaging remark (taken from Schindler's letter) that Schubert's role in the meeting was 'anything but pleasant to him'.[144]

In a discussion concerning 'Contributions to the Jubilee Festival of Hofcapellmeister Salieri, by his pupil Franz Schubert', in which Schubert wrote both the words and music, Grove continued to promote the composer claiming: 'the words are given by Kreissle [...] but are not worth quoting. They do not possess the individuality of

[140] Kreissle, *Franz Schubert, Vol. 1*, 263.
[141] Grove, 'Schubert', *Dictionary of Music, Vol. III*, 336.
[142] Kreissle, *Franz Schubert, Vol. 1*, 263. Both accounts have proliferated. Gibbs presented both versions and, although he did not specifically draw a conclusion, he described Schindler as 'none-too-reliable'. It remains unclear whether they ever met; see Gibbs, *The Life of Schubert*, 137-138. Brown, however, is certain that the composers never met; see Brown, *Schubert*, 332. Fritz Hug gives Schindler's version of events; see Fritz Hug, *Franz Schubert: Tragik eines Begnadeten* (München: Wilhelm Heyne Verlag, 1978), 128. Harry Goldschmidt, however, relays both stories; see Harry Goldschmidt, *Franz Schubert: Ein Lebensbild* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik Leipzig, 1980), 171-172. Beethoven biographies mostly side with the idea that Beethoven was not at home. *Thayer's Life of Beethoven* uses Hüttenbrenner's version from Kreissle's biography; see Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, ed. Elliot Forbes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 805-806. George R. Marek concluded that Schindler 'probably' fabricated the story; see George R. Marek, *Beethoven: Biography of a Genius* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1969), 574. Maynard Solomon stated that Beethoven was not at home but does not cite a source for this information; see Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1998), 346. Strangely, there is no mention at all in some sources; see Barry Cooper, *Beethoven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); and William Kinderman, *Beethoven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). Yet Lockwood suggests that Schubert could have been a regular member of Beethoven's circle from 1820 onwards, but gives no proof; see Lewis Lockwood, *Beethoven: The Music and the Life* (London: W.W. Norton & Co, 2003), 353-354.
[143] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 279-280.
[144] Kreissle, *Franz Schubert, Vol. 1*, 263.

thought which makes Schubert's later verses so interesting'.[145] However, nowhere else in his article did Grove quote the poetry Schubert used; thus the inclusion of this comment acts as a derogatory remark towards Kreissle.

Again, Grove defended Schubert regarding the argument between him and Carl Maria von Weber. After the first performance on 3 October 1823 of Weber's *Euryanthe*, Schubert declared that its merit lay in the harmony and that he could prove that the score completely lacked original melody, unlike *Der Freischütz*. Weber replied, 'Let the fool learn something himself before he criticises me', to which Schubert brought to Weber the score of *Alfonso und Estrella*. Weber returned to Schubert's criticism of *Euryanthe*, but when Schubert stuck to his belief, Weber was 'absurd enough to lose his temper'.[146] This is in stark contrast to Kreissle who merely said that Weber was a 'little piqued'.[147] Whilst 'piqued' is the word that Coleridge chose for the translation, the tone is demonstrative of the different motivations of their respective authors. Furthermore, nowhere in the translation was Weber blamed. This is another story that was disseminated in contemporary biographies with varying degrees of empathy. Haweis, for example, sparingly described that 'when Weber came to Vienna in 1823, he was unacquainted with any of Schubert's music, and called him a dolt'.[148] Not only an extreme example of oversimplification, but this put Weber at fault.[149]

As concerns Schubert's possible romantic interest in Caroline Esterházy, Grove is most cautious in what and how he writes. He places the potential love affair as happening when Caroline was seventeen rather than at their first period of time together when she was eleven. Yet Grove is doubtful:

> Ideal it can only have been [the love affair], considering the etiquette of the time, and the wide distance between the stations of the two; and the only occasion on which Schubert is ever alleged to have approached anything like

---

[145] Grove, 'Schubert', *Dictionary of Music, Vol. III,* 325.
[146] Grove, 'Schubert', *Dictionary of Music, Vol. III*, 339. This story is recounted in both Brown's and Gibbs' more recent biographies with varying amount of detail; see Brown, *Schubert,* 134-135 and Gibbs, *The Life of Schubert*, 111-112. See also Hug who quoted Weber replying sourly, 'Der Affe soll früher etwas lernen, bevor er mich beurteilt'; see Hug, *Franz Schubert,* 182 (Hug's source of the quotation is unknown). Also see Goldschmidt, *Franz Schubert,* 176-199.
[147] Kreissle, *Franz Schubert, Vol. 1*, 248.
[148] Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 277. Kreissle's story can be found in Volume 1, pages 246-249.
[149] Michael C. Tusa related the beginning part of the story where Schubert found *Euryanthe* far below the quality found in *Der Freischütz,* but did not describe Weber's reactions; see Michael C. Tusa, *'Euryanthe' and Carl Maria von Weber's Dramaturgy of German Opera* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 64. John Warrack, however, quoted Schubert as saying: 'there are clumsy masses which Weber cannot control. He should have left things alone.' He does not cite his source of the quotation. John Warrack attempted to discredit Schubert's statement by explaining that Schubert's operas show a lack of dramatic sense; see John Warrack, *Carl Maria von Weber* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 306. Clearly both writers are prejudiced in favour of Weber.

> a revelation of his feelings, is that told by Kreissle – on what authority he does not say, and it is hard to conceive [...] but it is difficult to reconcile the complaints of isolation and neglect already quoted from his letter to Schober [...]. We must be content to leave each reader to decide the question for himself.[150]

Not only does Grove address the issue of Caroline's age were the affair to be real, he addresses the problem their stations in life would have brought. It is not until much later in Grove's article that he surmised that Schubert 'does not appear to have cared for the other sex, or to have been attractive to them as Beethoven was, notwithstanding his ugliness. This simplicity curiously characterises his whole life.'[151] Although many others claimed the opposite as discussed previously, Grove still is able to defend Schubert's life choice by inserting the words 'ugliness' and 'simplicity', leading the readers both to feel sympathetic for Schubert and to appreciate his purity.

Grove was unreservedly enthusiastic towards Schubert and as such altered facts, translations and conclusions to depict him in a highly favourable light. As Schubert had a large following by 1883, Grove wrote in a manner that would help solidify the composer's position in the history books and in the musical canon, and not just as a part of English popular culture that would fade in time. However, his entry for the *Dictionary* received mixed reviews.[152] Its most severe criticism was from organist and writer H. Heathcote Statham. His critique is particularly important for the light it sheds on Victorian values in relation to Schubert. Grove complained about the article to Henry Reeve, the editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, in which it was published.[153] Reeve defended Statham: 'No one admires his [Schubert's] natural genius and vocal power more than I do, but as your biography proves, it was genius growing in a Vienna beer-shop, with a slender amount of education, a low social standard, and more facility than application'.[154] In this one statement, Reeves was able to pinpoint the major issues in Grove's biography of Schubert for the moral Victorian.

Statham began his commentary by arguing that the personal lives of great artists seem important, yet in reality these biographical details do not affect our aesthetic

---

[150] Grove, 'Schubert', *Dictionary of Music, Vol. III*, 341. Regarding the 'complaints of isolation' and reference to the letter to Schober, see Grove, 'Schubert', *Dictionary of Music, Vol. III*, 329.
[151] Grove, 'Schubert', *Dictionary of Music, Vol. III*, 360.
[152] As examples of positive reviews see: Anon., 'Contemporary Literature', *British Quarterly Review*, Vol. 76 (October 1882), 236; and Anon., 'Contemporary Literature: History and Biography', *Westminster Review*, Vol. 119 (January 1883), 126-127.
[153] Although in this study the focus is on the reception of Schubert in England, he is an English critic and thus we will ignore the location of the publication of his commentary.
[154] Letter from Reeve to Grove, 26 October 1883, cited in Brown, *Schubert*, 344. Statham eventually reprinted the article in 1892, in his book, *My Thoughts on Music and Musicians* (H. Heathcote Statham, *My Thoughts on Music and Musicians* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1892)).

judgment.[155] Thus, if Beethoven had led a very different life but with the same output, our judgment of the music would hardly be affected. Yet the dissemination of biographical information is important when dealing with second-rate artists, because it sheds light on their perceived shortcomings.[156] Although Statham did not specifically include Schubert in the class of second-rate composers, it becomes clear that he considered him so. He claimed that whilst Grove's was the 'most graphic' look at Schubert in English, the length was 'disproportionate […] with the brief space accorded to some much greater composers'.[157] Statham understood that Grove felt it necessary to go into more detail since not only is he an 'eloquent writer', but also because of his influence in Schubert's reception. However Grove went too far – his claims for Schubert would be 'tantamount to lowering very much the standard and requirements of instrumental music of the highest class,' with which Statham disagreed.[158] Statham excluded vocal music in this disparaging assertion, indicating earlier his personal, positive reception of Schubert's songs. Although Schubert had musical inspiration, Statham argued that the composer was not a genius. Furthermore, a 'genius without taking pains will never achieve a grasp of the highest capabilities of art'.[159] For Statham, Schubert's attitude was that of a 'gifted amateur' who ceased working immediately when hard work was involved.[160] The proof lay in his compositional patterns (the perceived lack of editing) and his non-discriminatory use of poetry and libretto, which was 'hardly the system from which one expects the production of works of a uniformly high class, even from a man of genius'.[161]

Statham particularly disliked Grove's comment 'which of us would not have done the same?'[162] in reference to Schubert running away from Beethoven during the presentation of the *Variations on a French Air*, Op. 10. Statham cuttingly remarked that 'no man with proper self-respect would have done so; but self-respect is a flower that does not flourish in so coarse a soil as that in which Schubert was content to imbed

[155] This, however, did not happen as reception history has shown. See the beginning of this chapter which initially discusses this topic.
[156] See [H. Heathcote Statham] 'Schubert. By Sir George Grove, D.C.L., Director of the Royal College of Music. "Dictionary of Music and Musicians," vol.iii. London:1882', *Edinburgh Review*, 158:324 (October 1883), 475-476. The article was accredited to Statham by Gramit in 'Constructing a Victorian Schubert', 65-78.
[157] [Statham], 'Schubert', 476.
[158] [Statham], 'Schubert', 477.
[159] [Statham], 'Schubert', 477-480.
[160] See [Statham], 'Schubert', 480
[161] [Statham], 'Schubert', 480.
[162] Grove, 'Schubert', *Dictionary of Music, Vol. III*, 336. This is not corroborated in Grove's 'Beethoven' article.

himself'.[163] This was almost personal for Statham; not only did he dislike the instrumental music, but also the man and, particularly, his apparent lack of work ethic.

Discussing Schubert's vocal works, Statham commented that 'it is perfect art in its class, but it is not the highest class, and does not in itself avail to place its author on the pedestal occupied by the few great musicians of the world, or to justify such extravagant expressions as his biographer [Grove] indulges in'.[164] Statham concluded that the composer would have been among the greatest if his larger works were of the same calibre as his vocal pieces, but that in extended compositions there needed to be more than just beautiful melodies. Instead they included 'vain repetitions' which were used because the composer wished to continue, yet did not know a better way. For Statham, all the materials were there to make a great piece; however Schubert lacked the will 'or power to combine them into an effective whole'. They were 'flabby, and therein reflect their author's whole life and character'[165] – returning to Statham's original claim, that for second-rate artists, biography matters.

Messing examines Statham's critique from a gendered viewpoint and as such his analysis warrants a summary here. Statham, Messing contends, offered a critique that was 'charged with gendered language. There was in Schubert "that sad and clinging sentiment which belongs to the weaker and not to the nobler side of the passion," and what was needed was "something more bracing and manly in style and feeling."'[166] For Statham, there was a close relationship between Schubert's music and his infirmity: 'Schubert's life and works, indeed, suggest a lesson almost as much moral as artistic - that the most strong and healthy form of art, as of character is not to be developed by giving one's self up to emotional impulses, however beautiful and attractive; that the strong artist as well as the strong man, is he who is the master, not the servant, of his fancy and inspiration.'[167] As Messing maintains, Statham exploited the biographical pieces in Grove's writing that highlighted Schubert's 'gendered shortcomings: "At another period of his life he seems to have pigged together in a kind of happy-family fashion with two other congenial spirits, one of whom he called, with vulgar effusiveness, "seine Geliebte" (using the feminine termination); they had nominally their own lodgings, but often slept together in the room of one, and had common property in hats, boots, coats, and

[163] [Statham], 'Schubert', 481.
[164] [Statham], 'Schubert', 484. Please refer to my discussion of this in Chapter I.
[165] [Statham], 'Schubert', 484-487.
[166] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 196, who cites H. Heathcote Statham, *My Thoughts on Music and Musicians* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1892R|Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1972), 324.
[167] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 196, who cites Statham, *My Thoughts*, 329.

cravats."'[168] This was harsh criticism in 1882 and it appears to be the closest a writer of this period came to amalgamate issues of sexuality and gender. Statham's argument, however, sits firmly in the Victorian framework, which 'valorised' manly conduct.[169] Effeminacy in men was vulgar and offensive to late nineteenth-century culture as demonstrated by the headmaster of Clifton College in Bristol, Reverend J. M. Wilson who cautioned his students to 'strengthen your will by practice; subdue your flesh by hard work and hard living; by temperance; by avoiding all luxury and effeminacy, and all temptation.'[170] Strikingly much of this advice is at odds with Schubert's life. All in all however, Statham's critique, as Messing argues, should be considered as nothing more than 'moral censure'.[171]

Running through Statham's critique is a hint of muscular Christianity. T. C. Saundars coined the term in 1857 in a review of Charles Kingsley's *Two Years Ago.* Muscular Christianity can be characterised by the association between 'physical strength, religious certainty and the ability to shape and control the world around oneself'[172], and indeed this can be seen as at odds with Schubert's reported biography, especially the points raised by Statham.

Instead of constructing an argument that methodically examined the music to demonstrate Schubert's limited compositional skill, Statham began with the biography, in order to criticise the music. Thus in the end, Statham's argument appeared emotional rather than analytical, aided, of course, by the gendered vocabulary.[173] The vehemence in Statham's tone regarding Schubert's character demonstrates his extreme dislike of Schubert's personality to the extent that it affected his perception of the music – fully establishing the link Victorians held between biography and the artwork.

This chapter's discussion plainly demonstrates that there was an 'undeniable discontinuity between the Victorians' belief in the linkage of moral conduct and artistic worth, on the one hand, and their disinclination to discuss elements of a composer's life

[168] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 196, who cites Statham, *My Thoughts*, 321-322.
[169] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 196-7.
[170] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 197, who cites James Maurice Wilson, *Sins of the Flesh* (London: Social Purity Alliance, 1885), 7.
[171] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 197.
[172] Donald E. Hall, 'Muscular Christianity: Reading and Writing the Male Social Body', *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age*, ed. Donald E. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 7.
[173] It was Statham's tone, concluded Leanne Langley, that undermined any real impact of his critique on the Schubert article; see Langley, 'Reception', 12.

that might illuminate that connection, on the other'.[174] The Victorians thought that there was a correlation between the way the artist conducted himself and the value of their art and, consequently, the biographical details shared were careful chosen to portray a particular image of the artist. Too many parts of Schubert's life conflicted with the way Victorians between the 1860s and 1880s viewed drinking, leisure, money, and hard work, with various writers enacting different methods of coping. Nonetheless, these issues affected Schubert's reception: when his music appeared to lack form and design, it was proof that Schubert was poorly educated. Listening was not just a process of thinking critically about music, but also a way to authenticate and substantiate a literary image – in this case, Schubert's image.[175] As discoveries were made in relation to Schubert's history, and values changed through time, Schubert's life was seen as less and less controversial. One particular article from 1928 claimed that many found Grove's summary of Schubert's character 'not sufficiently laudatory. They preferred to bow in uncritical romantic adoration before the portrait of the stout, full-fleshed and full-blooded little man with the prominent lips, who loved wine and women'.[176] Openly stating Schubert's predilection for wine, demonstrates the different values of 1928, whereas for the Victorians, the link with biography and artwork was strong and clearly affected his reception and therefore his canonization.

[174] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 183.
[175] See Leon Botstein, 'Listening through Reading: Musical Literacy and the Concert Audience', *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Autumn 1992), 129-145, who developed this idea in relation to late nineteenth-century Germany.
[176] Frederick H. Martens, 'Schubert and the Eternal Feminine', *Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (October 1928), 539. In light of recent scholarship examining Schubert's homosexuality, this quotation is striking in its claim that the composer loved women; see the aforementioned article, Solomon, 'Franz Schubert and the Peacocks of Benvenuto Cellini', 193-206.

CONCLUSION

The periodization of Schubert's English reception suggested in this thesis – 1828-1849, 1850-1865 and 1866-1883 – whilst not intended to be considered definite, can now be conceptualised. In the first period, England became familiar with Schubert as the 'song' composer. This was a reflection of the penchant of the Victorian middle classes for domestic music. In the transitional years, 1850-1865, knowledge and appreciation of his work began to extend to his instrumental music. Finally, the third period can be considered as the time in which Schubert's image and reputation were solidifying. Although he still had his detractors, he was a feature in the concert halls. This process could not have come about without a literary public increasingly interested in writings on music.

Chapters I through III highlight some key themes of Schubert's reception in England. Given that Schubert was dead by the time his music reached the shores of the country, his reception is indebted to music societies (such as the Philharmonic, New Philharmonic, Musical Union and the Crystal Palace) and key people (Grove, Manns, Liszt, Hallé). With publications being mostly songs at the time of his early death, it was difficult for his instrumental works to gain acceptance. Contrary to a living composer he was unable to defend his music or promote himself or even control his image. Programme notes were vital in not only promoting Schubert's music, but also in controlling his image. Thus George Grove's extensive writing on Schubert was vital for his reception history.

Other issues arose within these chapters. The negative effects of English nationalism upon Schubert's reception can help us view the overall appreciation of his music in a different light. Celia Applegate argues that nationalism 'can certainly become powerfully attached to political agendas of various stripes.' Although she suggests this in reference to A. B. Marx and E. T. A. Hoffmann, it is nevertheless also appropriate in our case.[1] Furthermore, 'it makes better sense of the evidence to look at nationalism as an emergent cognitive model for a number of educated Europeans, a way of ordering experience, of looking at the world and making sense of one's place and identity in it – in

[1] Celia Applegate, 'How German Is it? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century', *19th-Century Music*, XXI/3 (Spring 1998), 281.

[Pierre] Bourdieu's terms, a mode of "vision and division" of the world.'[2] Applegate continues to suggest that understanding this 'nation-talk' would 'allow us to reconstruct more accurately the context in which nineteenth-century Europeans increasingly regarded certain music as "serious".'[3] Indeed this seems to apply to Schubert's music. When Schubert was brought into the debate about the lack of native music in England, it was in the context of his songs. English songs and ballads were held, it seems, as a serious genre and part of English culture. As the nationalism discussion as it pertained to Schubert waned, he became known for a greater variety of genres which were more open to other nationalities and not identified as English.

In these chapters, women played a seemingly less influential role than men. This can be attributed to the fact that the source materials, which formed the basis of these chapters, are published journals that advertised professional concerts. Women could be found in the professional arena, although mostly as singers or pianists. Such well-known women as Jenny Lind, Charlotte Ann Birch, Wilhelmine Schroeder Devrient, and Adelaide Kemble, did perform Schubert's music. These women, although remarkable in their own right, were part of the overall story of Schubert's rise to the upper echelon of composers, but their influence was more discreet than that of Hallé or Manns. Generally, women's role in music making in the nineteenth century was mainly a domestic one and thus remained relatively undocumented in contemporary journals. Publication records in appendices one and seven hint at a silent but influential role for these women – as performers and consumers of domestic music making. As shown, Schubert's Lieder and dance music was perfect for this setting and, as such, did well here. Thus, women were not completely absent from Schubert's reception, but rather played a vital role in the dissemination of his music.

The effects which performance standards and practices have in reception history should not be overvalued. Scant rehearsals to prepare for concerts were one of the factors leading to the decline of the Philharmonic Society.[4] The negative effect of slow tempi in the Symphony No. 9 in C major when performed at the Musical Society of London had repercussions on future performances of the symphony. The Crystal Palace, however, had the reputation for 'high standards of execution and interpretation'.[5] It is clear from this chapter that there was a cultural connection between good, strong performances, which created favourable reviews, and the transformed image of our composer.

---

[2] Applegate, 'How German Is it?', 281, who cites Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc J.D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 12.
[3] Applegate, 'How German Is it?', 281.
[4] Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic*, 81-83.
[5] Musgrave, 'Changing Values', 187.

The Crystal Palace was, perhaps, the singular most important society in Schubert's reception in this period. In part this was because of the sheer number of pieces performed here, but also because of the numerous premieres of Schubert's works. Manns, through high quality performances, was able to do justice to these works and the reviews examined here never complained about performances lacking in quality. Grove's discovery of new works and his programme notes, studied in detail as they pertain to Schubert, were an important part of Schubert's positive reception, which placed the Crystal Palace and Grove in the continental forefront for work on Schubert, ahead of Germany. The importance of a composer's life upon the public's imagination and understanding of his music is reflected in programme notes and concert reviews which likewise often dedicated a lot of space to his writing about Schubert's life.

Indeed the importance of biography in the appreciation of a composer's reception of their music is a common theme in both Chapter III and the following two chapters. Though different in nature, Chapter IV highlights the negative consequences of being associated with Beethoven and Wagner. Lastly, Chapter V highlights the degree in which English values and morals affected biographical writings on artists in general and Schubert in particular and the particular effect of a society's moral values upon reception. Schubert's life was often at odds with prevalent values; he drank, was usually poor and profligate. His friends were not necessarily exemplary models for a wholesome life either. Authors of the biographies, therefore, had to navigate their way through these issues to present Schubert in the best possible, though sanitised, light. Consequently, a skewed perception of Schubert emerged in the latter half of the century that allowed even the moral Victorian to be a supporter of his music, for as demonstrated in Chapter III, a composer's life story was paramount to understanding his music.

John Reed claimed that the 'posthumous reputations of great composers seem to fall into three distinct phases'. The first phase is characterized by 'vivid but fallible recollections of the great man's contemporaries'. It 'thrives on legend and anecdotes and tends to emphasize the magical properties of genius.' This level is superseded by a 'patient documentation of events in a spirit of scientific enquiry' and can be seen in the monumental biographies of Thayer on Beethoven, Jahn on Mozart and C. F. Pohl on Haydn. Lastly, a 'period of critical evaluation and synthesis ensues, in which the stature of the artist is looked at afresh in the context of his age'.[6] According to Reed, Schubert's biography adheres to this model. Whereas the mentioned biographies of Beethoven, Mozart and Haydn were written in the nineteenth century, Schubert's was not published

[6] Reed, *Schubert*, xi. Of course other models than just Reed's could exist which would fit other composers', to use Reed's words, 'posthumous reputation'.

until 1913 with Otto Erich Deutsch's *Franz Schubert: die Dokumente seines Lebens und Schaffens*.[7] As a collection of documents, this is quite different from the other biographies. Nevertheless, the various biographies presented and examined within this dissertation, such as Kreissle and Crowest, can be viewed in context of Reed's first phase. Reed maintains that a reason for the late start of the second phase of biographical writing on Schubert is due in part to the lack of publication of his music during his lifetime and to the 'shadow cast on his reputation by the adulation of Beethoven'.[8] I have discussed in Chapter IV Beethoven's reputation, which created a negative image for Schubert and hindered his reception. Reed contends that the slow start was also due to the 'deliberate mystification' on the part of Schubert's close friends, Anselm Hüttenbrenner, Leopold Sonnleithner and Johann Jenger. The lack of a systematic recollection of events by Moritz von Schwind and Franz von Schober also hindered the writing of Schubert's life. Biographical material collected by Ferdinand Luib and others in the 1850s and 1860s are 'markedly restrained in its references to Schubert's private life, and particularly to the [fatal] illness'.[9] Most English biographers took their information almost solely from Germanic sources. For instance, Grove's sources included the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* and *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst*, and, thus, were also restrained. Yet the English showed further reticence in discussing other aspects of Schubert's life. Besides what was discussed in Chapter V on Victorian values and their impact on biographical writing, Coleridge's translation of Kreissle's biography on Schubert even omitted the latter's chapter subheading 'Schubert as Concerns the Female Sex'.[10] Regardless, the slow development in biographical studies on Schubert still follows Reed's phases, and much of what we see in this period can be classed as phase one. The impact of Sir George Grove in the discovery of these works and of August Manns in top-notch performances leads us to the question, however unanswerable, of how history would remember Schubert if his works had not been found until much later or if they had never been found. The consequence of Grove's and Manns' work is profound.

Undoubtedly, the lack of published works at the time of Schubert's death had an immense impact on his reception. For the people of the nineteenth century, we recall the quotation laid out in the introduction of this dissertation: 'All Paris has been in a state of

[7] Reed, *Schubert*, xi. Otto Erich Deutsch, *Franz Schubert: die Dokumente seines Lebens und Schaffens* (München: O. Müller, 1913).
[8] Reed, *Schubert*, xi-xii.
[9] Reed, *Schubert*, xii.
[10] See Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 183. Messing suggests this was to 'forestall the arousing of lurid interests among readers who might casually peruse the table of contents'.

amazement at the posthumous diligence of the song writer, F. Schubert, who while one would think his ashes repose in peace in Vienna, is still making eternal new songs, and putting drawing-rooms in commotion.'[11] In Schubert's lifetime, just over a quarter of his songs were published.[12] Compositions in other genres fared even less well. The following number of works was published in Europe in Schubert's lifetime (including those published in the latter half of November and December 1828):

- 0 Theatrical works
- 5 Sacred works
- 0 Orchestral works
- 2 Chamber works
- 6 Sonatas, fantasises and shorter works for piano
- 20 Dances for piano
- 18 for Piano four hands[13]
- 209 Songs (including part songs)[14]

Leanne Langley suggests that the 'time-lag from composition to publication [...] meant that Schubert's unfolding output "arrived" just at the right moment when professional opportunity was expanding rapidly' in England.[15] Furthermore, his domestic music found an easy market because the culture of music in the home already existed.[16] The eagerness of the public for performances no doubt aided the consumption of Schubert's music. For instance, premieres generated an excitement as exemplified in Bennett's recollection of the Crystal Palace concerts during the years 1867 and 1868 fuelling desire for more premieres in the following season. Thus, the delay in publication had a profound impact on his reception history.

---

[11] Deutsch, 'The Reception of Schubert's Works', 200-203, cited in Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 177.
[12] See Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 501. In the subsequent pages, Reed provides several tables with the dates of song publications.
[13] Numbers collected from Winter, 'Schubert, Franz.' For his own tables, Reed reasons that songs published in November and December of 1828 'were almost certainly proof-read by the composer before his death'; see Reed, *The Schubert Song Companion*, 504. By Reed's count, 478 pieces were published throughout Europe by the end of 1828: 209 songs (including part songs) and 249 pieces for piano, leaving 21 pieces uncategorized; see Reed, 'Schubert's Reception History', 254. The discrepancy in figures could be accounted for by the categories. Nevertheless this still demonstrates the low percentage of total compositions published.
[14] Reed, 'Schubert's Reception History', 254. By Reed's count, 478 pieces were published throughout Europe by the end of 1828: 209 songs (including part songs) and 249 pieces for piano, leaving 21 pieces uncategorized; see Reed, 'Schubert's Reception History', 254. The discrepancy in figures between Winter and Reed could be accounted for by the categories. Nevertheless this still demonstrates the low percentage of total compositions published.
[15] Langley, 'Reception', 15.
[16] See Langley, 'Reception', 15.

By the 1890s, music activity, especially concerts, had expanded exponentially and competition between artists grew and specialisms were developed. Programmes that were cohesive in content, such as the 'complete works of' a specific composer, were more sought after.[17] Further avenues of research could determine the extent of Schubert's music performed at these one-composer concerts and the ways in which his reception benefitted from these. Socially, performances of his music at the end of the century progressed even to working-class suburban venues. The *Rondo brilliant*, Op. 70 (D895), was a favourite at these type of concerts. At the Queen's Hall Promenade, Schubert was very popular, outnumbering composers such as Verdi, Bach, Schumann, and Haydn. His music could be heard in outdoor summer venues from about 1906 where the Symphony No. 8 in B minor and the Symphony No. 9 in C major were favourably received. His music carried 'serious cultural weight, especially when linked with appearances by leading recitalists (singers, pianists and violinists) and legitimate string quartets'.[18] Schubert's Lieder were often juxtaposed with English folk and art songs.[19]

Yet, he was still not without his detractors. As mentioned in Chapter V, Statham reprinted his 1883 article in his 1892 book and continued to speak out against the composer. When Donald Francis Tovey claimed that Schubert's

> instrumental music would earn the composer 'a far higher place than ordinary orthodox opinion gives him,' Statham [...] countered 'Mr Tovey places Schubert higher than I should. [...] I always feel that Schubert's instrumental music wants that organic perfection which is essential to a great work of art.'[20]

George Bernard Shaw was also a lifelong critic of Schubert's music. According to Scott Messing his 'epithets' often included 'silliness, brainlessness, and childishness'.[21] John F. Runciman, like many before him, continued to associate Schubert's life with his personal reception of the composer's music. As in other writers, his rhetoric contained issues of gender:

> Schubert, with that incessant plaintive echo in his music, is to me the very voice of the sickest century there has been: never before or since has the note of utter world-weariness been sounded as poignantly and as persistently as he

[17] Langley, 'Reception', 13.
[18] Langley, 'Reception', 13.
[19] See Langley, 'Reception', 14.
[20] Donald Francis Tovey, *The Classics of Music: Talks, Essays, and Other Writings Previously Uncollected*, ed. Michael Tilmouth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 679, 683-684, cited in Scott Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 202.
[21] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 203.

> sounded it. His outbursts of energy are not manifestations of real strength, but of hysteria, nerves (it may be noted that Tchaikovsky's outbursts are of the same order) [...]. Schubert wrote to relieve himself: he cared little how he said a thing so long as he said it.[22]

Victorians would have associated hysteria with women.[23] Contrary to contemporary medical research, the British medical establishment claimed that male hysteria occurred only in other races. When it was present in men, the symptoms 'were not traceable to somatic causes, but rather were due to lack of will power or simple malingering'.[24] Yet early studies on male hysteria assumed the individual to be 'unmanly, womanish or homosexual'.[25] The quotation from Runciman suggests the possibility that a perception of Schubert's sexuality as non-normative may have affected his reception at least at the end of the century, that is at the time this article was published. A possible further path of investigation would be, therefore, to discern the prevalence of this perception, if it did indeed exist, and to trace its origin. Regardless, to account for Schubert's outbursts as hysteria was equal to total moral condemnation.

Throughout the thesis I have dealt with the scholarly and performing canon.[26] The pedagogical canon, meaning the emulation of Schubert by others in England, would be a fascinating addition to this research. It is now possible to highlight some of Schubert's most popular works in nineteenth-century England: Symphony No. 8 in B minor, music from *Rosamunde* and 'Der Erlkönig' are just some. Further research could show if there was a correlation between these most popular pieces in England and those on the continent in the same period, leading to deductions about cultural aesthetic responses.

Throughout the dissertation, a multi-faceted Schubert emerges: the 'song' composer, the 'song' *and* 'instrumental composer', a classical composer, and an avant-garde composer, just to name a few. Thus it is unsurprising that Schubert's reception history in England, and not just in the period under discussion here, was littered with detractors. As an alternative to Beethoven's style among others, Schubert's style yielded itself to criticism.

---

[22] John F. Runciman, 'Chopin and the Sick Men', *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 87 (9 September 1899), 324, cited in Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 207.
[23] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 207.
[24] Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, 208.
[25] Elaine Showalter, 'Hysteria, Feminism, and Gender', *Hysteria Beyond Freud*, ed. Sander L. Gilman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 289.
[26] Weber, 'The History of Musical Canon', 338-339.

KEY TO APPENDICES: SOURCES

AA = *Age and Argus*

AG = *Age*

BDP = *Birmingham Daily Post*

BLL = *Bells Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*

BM = *Bristol Mercury*

BMM = *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes and Racing Register*

CHA = *Chartist*

DM = *Derby Mercury*

DN = *Daily News*

DQ = *Dando Quartett Programme*

EDM = *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*

EG = *English Gentleman*

ER = *Era*

ERL = *Englishwoman's Review of Literature, Science, and Art*

EX = *Examiner*

HA = *Harmonicon*

HP = *Hull Packet and East Riding Times*

HTS = *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle, etc*

IJ = *Ipswich Journal*

JB = *John Bull*

JOJ = *Jackson's Oxford Journal*

LCF = *Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion*

LEM = *Leeds Mercury*

LM = *Liverpool Mercury*

LN = *Lady's Newspaper*

LWN = *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*

MC = *Morning Chronicle*

MPE = *Monthly Packet of Evening Readings of the English Church*

MT = *Manchester Times*

MW = *Musical World: a Weekly Record of Musical Science, Literature, and Intelligence*

NC = *Newcastle Courant etc*

PC = *Preston Chronicle*

PG = *Preston Guardian etc*

PLC = *Punch, or the London Charivari*

PMG = *Pall Mall Gazette*

PS = *Penny Satirist*

RN = *Reynolds's Newspaper*

SCT = *Satirist or the Censor of the Times*

SG = *Sporting Gazette*

SSL = *Southern Star and London and Brighton Patriot*

TEF = *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser*

TI = *The Times*

WF = *World of Fashion: Monthly Magazine of the Courts of London and Paris Fashions, Literature, Music, Fine Arts, the Opera and the Theatres*

APPENDIX 1: SCHUBERT'S MUSIC PUBLICATIONS IN ENGLAND TO 1849

Key to Source Codes - see previous page

Key to Library Codes:
BL = British Library, RAM = Royal Academy of Music, RCM = Royal College of Music

Titles of works given in language printed (standardizations made). Some unexpected titles may appear in the context of Schubert's name, which have been left as according to the original source. Original German titles are given in brackets where available.

Title(s)	Other contributors	Instrumentation/Notes	Date	Publisher	Language	Source(s)
Introduction and Variations on a favourite Vienna waltz by F. P. Schubert, for the piano-forte, Op. 12	Carl Czerny		1824?	Birchall & Co	n/a	BL g.352.z.(11.)
'The passing bell' ['Zügenglöcklein']	trans. Thomas Oliphant		1826?	Cramer, Addison & Beale	English	RCM D1296/20 & XXV.B.24(a)
'Le Désir' ['Sehnsucht']	arr. Felix Horetzky (1796-1870)	one or two guitars	1830?	Ewer & Johanning	n/a	BL f.760.a.(4.)
'The Grand Duke of Darmstadt's favourite Waltz [Based upon No. 2 of Schubert's "Original-Tänze," Op. 9.]'	arr. J. Herz	Piano	1831	J. Dean	n/a	BL h.1226.b.(10.)

Title Unknown			1832	Lavenu	Unspecified	TI 26/12/32 29/11/32 ER 21/10/32
Title Unknown			1832	Whitaker & Co and Johanning & Whatmore	Unspecified	AG 21/10/32 18/11/32
‘Who is Sylvia?’ [‘An Silvia’]			1833	Wessel & Co	English; German	Senate House Libraries, University of London 784 (P.C.)
Military march : for piano with ad lib. violin and cello parts [Marches militaires. No. 1, Op. 51 (D733)]			c.1834	W. Paxto	n/a	RCM StrPf (3)
Title Unknown			1835	Boosey & Sons	Unspecified	AG 20/12/35
‘Thine is my heart’ [‘Ungeduld’]	trans. Elizabeth Masson		c.1835	Mori & Lavenu	English	Senate House Libraries, University of London 784 (P.C.)
‘Great is Jehovah!’ [‘Die Allmacht’] and ‘The Erl King’ [‘Erlkönig’]			1835?	unknown	English	BL F.637.w.(15.)
‘Ellen’s Hymn’ [‘Ave Maria’]		voice and piano	1836?	Wessel & Co	Unspecified	Senate House Libraries, University of

						London 784 (P.C.)
Title Unknown			1837	Boosey & Sons	Unspecified	JB 17/12/37 18/02/38
Le Talisman. Deux Rondeaux pour le Pianoforte sur des motifs des melodies de F. Schubert	Antonin Aulagnier (1800-1892)		1837	unknown	n/a	BL h.700. (10.)
'When I behold thee' [*Alfonso und Estrella*, 'Wenn ich dich, Holde, sehe']	trans. and arr. J. Rhing	voice and piano	1837	Wessel & Co	English; German	Bodleian Library, Oxford Mus.301 c.234
'On every tree that blossoms in the grove' ['Ungeduld']	trans. J. Rhing		1837	Wessel & Co	English; German	Senate House Libraries, University of London 784 (P.C.)
'Schubert's Admired German and French Melodies, arranged in a brilliant style for the Piano Forte by F. Liszt' - Contents: 'Sérénade' ['Ständchen']; 'Sois toujours mes seuls amours' ['Sei mir gegrüsst']; 'Le roi des Aulnes' ['Erlkönig']	arr. Franz Liszt	piano	1838	Mori & Lavenu	English	BL h.583.(6.) & JB 03/06/38 15/07/38 - twice
'Sei mir gegrüsst'	arr. Franz Liszt	piano	1838	Mori & Lavenu	n/a	King's Meadow Campus, Nottingham M38.5Lis

‘Thro’ the Night’s dark Shadow stealing’ [‘Ständchen’]	trans. W.H. Ollivier		1838	unknown	English	BL H.1652.c.(1.)
‘My Repose is fled, my Heart’s cast o’er’ [‘Gretchen am Spinnrade’]	trans. W. McGregor Logan		1838?	Wessel & Co	English	BL H.1652.c.(18.)
‘Erlkönig’	arr. Franz Liszt	piano	1838-1900	Augener	n/a	RCL Pf (incomplete citation)
‘Quando avvolto (Thro’ the Night’s dark Shadows stealing)’ [‘Ständchen’]	trans. W.H. Ollivier		1839?	Mori & Lavenu	English; Italian	BL G450.O.(3.)
‘ ’Tis a mill that’s yonder peeping’ [‘Halt!’]	trans. F.W. Rosier	high voice and piano	1839	Wessel & Co	English; German	Bodleian Library, Oxford Mus.301 c.229
‘Thou little stream’ [‘An eine Quelle’]	trans. F.W. Rosier	high voice and piano	1839	Wessel & Co	English; German	Bodleian Library, Oxford Mus.301 c.232
‘A mountain towers forth’ [‘Genügsamkeit’]	trans. F.W. Rosier.		1839	Wessel & Co	English; German	Bodleian Library, Oxford Mus.301 c.231
‘Babbling streamlet cease to rush’ [‘Mein’]	trans. F.W. Rosier.	high voice and piano	1839	Wessel & Co	English; German	Bodleian Library, Oxford Mus.301 c.230
‘Take the last farewell’ [‘Auf dem Strom’]		high voice and piano	1839	Wessel & Co	English; German	Bodleian Library, Oxford Mus.301 c.228
‘ ’Tis a mill that’s yonder peeping’ [‘Halt!’]	trans. F.W. Rosier.	high voice and piano	1839	Wessel & Co	English; German	Bodleian Library, Oxford Mus.301 c.229

‘Cooling Zephyrs gently sighing’ [‘Ständchen’]			1839 or c.1845	Wessel & Co	English; French; German	Senate House Libraries, University of London 784 (P.C.)
Six songs: ‘Sleepest thou fair maiden’, ‘Death, thou unrelenting foe’, ‘Behold yon Rose tree’, ‘My pretty fisher-maiden’, [‘Das Fischermädchen’] ‘All unstrung hangs my lute’	trans. Thomas Oliphant		1839-42	Cramer, Addison & Beale	English	Bodleian Library, Oxford Mus.301 c.138
Six songs: ‘Tis sweet to think (Regret)’, ‘Dear mother do not chide me’ [‘Das Echo’], ‘A warrior I am (The Veteran)’, ‘Time Lightly Hath Flown O’er Me (The Old Man)’, ‘Smooth is the moonlit sea (Night Song of the Exile)’, ‘Proudly Our heads we lift on high (The Alps)’	trans. Thomas Oliphant		1839-42	Cramer, Addison & Beale	English	BL H.2150.6
Six songs: ‘Weary Flowers Their Buds Are Closing’ [‘Ständchen’], ‘The Passing Bell’ [‘Zügenglöcklein’], ‘Calm as a Child in its Cradle (Barcarolle)’, ‘Weep not for friends departed (The Farwell)’, ‘My Life is But a Summer Day’, ‘Why fond youth such wild emotion (The Butterfly’s Song)’ [‘Der Schmetterling’]	trans. Thomas Oliphant		1839-42	Cramer, Addison & Beale	English	BL H.2150.6
‘Gia del Sole’, ‘Ave Maria’, ‘Oh dolce’, ‘Ah! Se d’avvero’, ‘Come se lieta’, ‘Non ha una Nube’			1840	Boosey & Sons	Unspecified	JB 05/07/40

‘Angel diletto in questo petto’ [‘Sei mir gegrüsst’]	trans. N. di Santo Mango		1840	C. Lonsdale	Italian	BL H.2150.s.(9.)
‘L’Addio’ [‘Adieu’; see above]	trans. N. di Santo Mango		1840?	C. Lonsdale		BL R.M.14.b.4.(10.)
‘Serenade’ [‘Ständchen’], ‘Ave Maria’			1840	Jefferys & Co	Unspecified	ER 14/06/40
Marche hongroise: Mélodies hongroises d’après Fr. Schubert No. 2	Franz Liszt		1840	Lavenu	n/a	BL g.547.cc.(7.)
Franz Liszt’s 24 Grand Studies w/ Schubert’s French and German Melodies	Franz Liszt	high voice and piano	1840	Lavenu	Unspecified	JB 03/05/40 10/05/40 24/05/40
‘Schubert’s Admired German and French Melodies, arranged in a brilliant style for the Piano Forte by F. Liszt’	arr. Franz Liszt	piano	c.1840	Mori & Lavenu	n/a	BL i.39.a.(1.)
‘Thro’ the Night’s dark Shadow stealing (‘Quando avvolto’)’ [‘Ständchen’]	trans. J. Augustine Wade (Eng.) and Manfredo Maggioni (Italian)		c.1840	Mori & Lavenu	English; Italian	University Library, Anderson Room, Cambridge MRA.290.80.158
Gemme di F. Schubert o sei canzonette	trans. Manfredo Maggioni		c.1840	T. Boosey & Co	Italian	BL.H.2150.v
‘Schwanengesang’	arr. Franz Liszt	piano	1840	Robert Cocks & Co	n/a	Trinity College Dublin M2-1760

‘Taubenpost’	arr. Franz Liszt	piano	1840	Robert Cocks & Co	n/a	Trinity College Dublin M2-1760
Divertissement à la Hongroise, Op. 54	arr. Charles Czerny		1840	Robert Cocks & Co	n/a	BL R.M.21.f.24.(7.)
‘Songs of the swan’ [‘Schwanengesang’]	arr. Franz Liszt	piano	c.1840	Robert Cocks & Co	n/a	Senate House Libraries, University of London, Music Library locked cupboard
‘Winter rambles’ [‘Winterreise’]	arr. Franz Liszt	piano	c.1840	Robert Cocks & Co	n/a	Senate House Libraries, University of London, Music Library locked cupboard
‘Serenata’ [‘Ständchen’]	arr. J. Balsir Chatterton	duet for harp and piano	1840	T. Boosey & Co	n/a	BL h.463.(20.) & JB 05/07/40 (ad also for other songs)
Grande fantaisie et finale alla militaire composés pour le Piano sur deux mélodies de F. Schubert, Op. 115	Henri Herz (1803-1888)		1840	unknown	n/a	BL h.463.(20.)

‘In silent woe I wander by’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	arr. Franz Liszt	piano	1840	Wessel & Co	English	Senate House Libraries, University of London 786.4 [Liszt]
‘The mighty trees bend’ [‘Die junge Nonne’]	trans. and adapted by F.W. Rosier	high voice and piano	1840	Wessel & Co	English; German	Bodleian Library, Oxford Mus.301 c.227
‘Hark, hark the lark’ [‘Ständchen’]	trans. A.W. Von Schlegel	high voice and piano	1840?	Wessel & Co	English; German	Bodleian Library, Oxford Mus.301 c.235
‘Who is Sylvia?’ [‘An Silvia’]	trans. E. Von Bauernfeld	medium voice and piano	1840?	Wessel & Co	English; German	Bodleian Library, Oxford Mus.301 c.236
‘Flow’rets blooming, winds perfuming’ [‘Lob der Tränen’]	trans. F.W. Rosier.	high voice and piano	1840	Wessel & Co	English; French; German	BL I.530.s.(10.)
‘Death! our Nature’s Dread’ [‘An den Tod’]	trans. J. Rhing		1840?	Wessel & Co	English	BL H.1652.c.(20.)
‘When first to life awakening’ [‘Die Rose’]	trans. J. Rhing	high voice and piano	1840?	Wessel & Co	English; German	Bodleian Library, Oxford Mus.301 c.233

‘Know’st thou the Land?’ [‘Kennst du das Land?’]		high voice and piano	1840	Wessel & Co	English; German	Bodleian Library, Oxford Mus.301 c.226
‘Two Ballads, from Göethe’s Wilhelm Meister, for Voice and Piano. No. 1. Who ne’er his Bread with weeping ate. No. 2. Towards the Threshold will I wend me’ [two of the three songs - ‘Wer sich der Einsamkeit ergibt’, ‘Wer nie sein Brot mit Tränen ass’ or ‘An die Türen will ich schleichen’ from ‘Gesänge des Harfners’]			1840?	Wessel & Co	English	BL H.2076
10 songs, titles unknown			1840	Wessel & Co	Unspecified	MW 21/05/40 Probably an ad for Wessel’s series of German songs appearing in 1840
‘Hark, hark the lark’ [‘Ständchen’] and ‘Who is Sylvia?’ [‘An Silvia’]			1840?	Wessel & Co	Unspecified	BL H.2076
The Triumvirate or Homage to Schubert ... Transcribed for the piano forte, from the vocal compositions of François Schubert	arr. Franz Liszt and Charles Czerny	piano	c.1840	Wessel & Co		BL h.3183.m.

‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	trans. T. Arnold	medium voice and piano	184-?	T. Holloway	English	Bodleian Library, Oxford Mus.301 c.239
‘12 admired Songs, French Words and elegant embellishments’			1841	Boosey & Sons	Unspecified	JB 18/12/41
‘Serenade’ [‘Ständchen’]			1841	Boosey & Sons	Unspecified	JB 20/11/41 27/11/41 30/10/41
‘Ungeduld’, ‘Erlkönig’, ‘Der Wanderer’, ‘Die Post’, and ‘Der Harfner’			1841	Boosey & Sons	Italian; French; German	JB 04/12/41
‘Les Regrets’ [‘Die Nebensonnen’]			1841	Chappell	French	BL H.2150.s.(6.)
Grand fantasia on melodies of Schubert			1841	D’Almaine & Co.	Unspecified	TI 26/04/41
‘Vogando in mare tranquil’ [‘Auf dem Wasser zu singen’]	trans. Elizabeth Masson		1841	unknown	Italian	BL H.1684.(13.)
‘Hark, hark the lark’ [‘Ständchen’]		as sung by Adelaide Kemble	1841	Wessel & Co	Unspecified	TI 31/12/41 03/01/42 EX 25/12/41
‘Serenade’ [‘Ständchen’]			1842	Boosey & Sons	Unspecified	JB 19/02/42
Six Songs: ‘The Stars’ [‘Die Sterne’], ‘The Broken Promise’ [‘Du bist die Ruh’], ‘The Knight & the Shepherd’	trans. Thomas Oliphant		1842	Cramer, Addison & Beale	English	BL R.M.13.f.27.(2.)

[‘Der Schäfer und Der Reiter’], ‘The Recluse’ [‘Der Einsame’], ‘The Trout’ [‘Die Forelle’]						
‘Hark, hark the lark’ [‘Ständchen’] and ‘Who is Sylvia?’ [‘An Silvia’]	trans. A.W. Von Schlegel (‘Ständchen’) and E. Von Bauernfeld (‘An Silvia’)	high voice and piano	1842	Cramer, Beale & Co	English; German	Bodleian Library, Oxford Mus.301 c.237
‘The Fisherman’s Daughter (La Figlia del pescatore)’ [‘Das Fischermädchen’]	trans. J. Augustine Wade (Eng.) and Manfredo Maggioni (Italian)		1842	Mori & Lavenu	English; Italian	BL G.450.O.(1.)
‘The Joy of Grief (I Dolci pianti)’ [‘Lob der Tränen’]	trans. J. Augustine Wade (Eng.) and Manfredo Maggioni (Italian)		1842	Mori & Lavenu	English; Italian	BL H.2150.s.(5.)
‘Schubert’s melodies Ständchen, Der Erl König, Ave Maria, Die Post for two performers on the Piano forte with accompaniments ad libitum for flute, violin, and violoncello’	arr. W.H. Callcott	two pianos and ad libitum for flute, violin and cello	1842	unknown	n/a	BL h.540.(11.)
Introduction and variations on a theme by Schubert for the violin with piano	Ferdinand David (1810-1873)	violin and piano	1842	unknown	n/a	BL h.210.(3.)

forte accompaniment, Op. 15						
‘Hark, hark the lark’ [‘Ständchen’]	second verse by Elizabeth Masson		1842	unknown	English; German	BL H.1684.(11.)
‘The Post Horn’ [‘Die Post’]	trans. Elizabeth Masson		1842	unknown	English	BL H.1684.(12.)
‘La Posta’ [‘Die Post’]	trans. M. Maggioni		1842	unknown	Italian	BL H.1684.(17.)
‘Serenade’ [‘Ständchen’]	trans. W. Bartholomew		1842	unknown	English	BL H.1684.(15.)
‘I come from rocky mountains steep’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	trans. W. H. Callcott		1842	unknown	English; German	BL H.1684.(10.)
‘Il Lamento’ [‘Die Nebensonnen’]			1842	unknown	Italian	BL H.1684.(16.)
‘In silent woe I wander by’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	trans. J. Rhing		1842?	Wessel & Co	English	BL H.2076
‘On every tree that blossoms in the grove’ [‘Ungeduld’]	trans. J. Rhing		1842?	Wessel & Co	English; German	BL H.2076
‘Ave Maria’			1842?	Wessel & Co	Unspecified	BL H.2076

Les delices de Schubert: No. 1. ‘Cooling zephyrs’, played by Liszt [‘Ständchen’] -- No. 2 ‘My repose is fled’ sung by Madame Schröeder-Devrient [‘Gretchen am Spinnrade’] -- No. 3. ‘Thou whom I vowed to love’ [‘Mein Gruss an den Mai’] -- No. 4. ‘Near the fountain’ [‘Wohin?’] -- No. 5. ‘The departure’ -- No. 6. ‘Sweet image’ [‘Du bist die Ruh’] -- No. 7. ‘The calm sea and Traveller’s night song’ -- No. 8. ‘O who rides by night thro’ the woodlands so wild?’ [‘Erlkönig’] -- No. 9. ‘Ave Maria’ -- No. 10. ‘Last greeting’ [‘Adieu’; see above] -- No. 11. ‘The mighty trees bend’ [‘Die junge Nonne’]	arr. Christian Urhan	viola and piano	c.1842	Wessel & Co	Unspecified	BL h.1840
Title Unknown			1843	Boosey & Sons	Unspecified	JB 25/03/43 22/04/43 03/06/43 24/06/43
Les Trois Palais de France. Morceaux de Schubert [No. 1. Schwanengesang No. 4. No. 2. Auf dem Wasser zu singen (D774). No. 3. Das Zügenglöcklein, (D871)]	arr. F. Chatterton	harp	1843?	Mori & Lavenu	n/a	BL h.173.d.(5.)

‘Six favourite melodies in two books’	arranged for the Harp and Piano Forte by T. H. Wright and F. Batta, with an accompaniment for the flute or violin and violoncello by C. Lucas	harp, piano, flute, violin, violoncello	1843	unknown	n/a	BL h.126.(12.)
‘Hark, hark the lark’ [‘Ständchen’]			1843	unknown	English	BL H.1684.(14.)
‘The most favourite Melodies’ Contents: 1. ‘Thine is my Heart’ 2. ‘From hoary Mountains am I come’ [‘Der Wanderer’] 3. ‘The Adieu’ [‘Adieu’; see above] 4. ‘O’er the bright Flood’ 5. ‘Through the Night my Songs adjure thee’ [‘The Serenade’]	trans. M.A. Bacon		1844	Chappell	English	BL H.1980.ee.(27.)
‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	arr. ?	piano	1844	Richard Andrews	Unspecified	MT 23/03/44
‘Die Forelle’	arr. H. Herz	piano duet	1844	unknown	n/a	BL h.465.(20.)
‘The Language of Flowers’ [‘Der Blumenbrief’]	trans. Thomas Oliphant		1844	unknown	English	BL H.2150.c.(13.)
‘The Echo’ [‘Das Echo’]	trans. Thomas Oliphant		1844-1861	Cramer, Beale & Co	English; German	RCM D1296/23 &

						XXV.B.24(12)
‘Weep not for friends departed (The Farewell)’ [‘Adieu’; see above]	trans. Thomas Oliphant		1844-1861	Cramer, Beale & Co	English	RCM D1296/22 & XXV.B.24(11)
‘L’Attente’ [‘Du bist die Ruh’]	trans. D.P.		c.1845	T. Boosey & Co	French	BL H.2150.s.(3.)
‘Laughing and Weeping’ [‘Lachen und Weinen’]	trans. Harry A. Ewer		c.1845	Addison & Hodson	English; German	BL G.450.O.(2.)
‘Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt (They who love’s Pow’r have known)’ [‘Lied der Mignon’]	trans. Thomas Oliphant		1845	Addison & Hodson	English; German	BL H.2150.c.(14.)
‘Ave Maria’, ‘The Serenade’ [‘Ständchen’], ‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’], ‘Marguerite’ [‘Gretchen am Spinnrade’], ‘The Young Nun’ [‘Die junge Nonne’], ‘The Erl King’ [‘Erlkönig’]			1845?	Addison & Hodson	English; German; Italian	BL H.2150.x No.5 only & H.1653.f.(32) No.1 only
‘Hark, hark the lark’ [‘Ständchen’]		as sung by Adelaide Kemble	c.1845	Addison & Hodson	English; German	BL H.2150.u.(1.)
Two admired Melodies of Schubert, ‘Serenade’ [‘Ständchen’] and ‘Sois toujours mes seuls amours’ [‘Sey mir gegrüsst’]	arr. Franz Liszt	piano	c.1845	Addison & Hodson	n/a	BL h.3183.n.(1.)
Marche hongroise: Mélodies hongroises d’après Fr. Schubert No. 2	Franz Liszt		1845	Addison & Hodson	n/a	BL h.896.u.(1.)

‘Hark, hark the lark’ [‘Ständchen’]			c.1845	B. Williams	English	BL H.2150.s.(2.)
‘Vogando in mare tranquil’ [‘Auf dem Wasser zu singen’]	trans. Elizabeth Masson		1845?	C. Lonsdale	Italian	BL H.2150.c.(9.)
‘Bei dir allein’	trans. W. Bartholomew		1845?	C. Ollivier	English; German	BL H.2134.a.(34.)
‘Know’st thou the Land?’ [‘Kennst du das Land?’]	trans. W. Bartholomew		1845?	C. Ollivier	English; German	BL H.2134.a.(35.)
‘The Baden Baden Polkas’	arr. ?	piano	1845	Chappell	n/a	BL h.61.cc.(11.)
Title Unknown			1845	Leader & Cock	Unspecified	MC 22/12/45 28/01/46
Les délices de Schubert ... German songs composed by F. Schubert, arranged for flute and piano	arr. A. Minasi	flute and piano	1845	unknown	n/a	BL h.2125.
Les délices de Schubert ... German songs composed by F. Schubert, arranged for tenor and piano	arr. C. Urham	tenor and piano	1845	unknown	Unspecified	BL h.1040.
Les délices de Schubert ... German songs composed by F. Schubert, arranged for the violin and piano	arr. C. Urham	violin and piano	1845	unknown	n/a	BL h.1730.
Les délices de Schubert ... German songs composed by F. Schubert, arranged for clarionet & Piano	arr. J.C. Hammens	clarinet and piano	1845	unknown	n/a	BL h.2188.
Les délices de Schubert ... German Songs composed by F. Schubert arranged for Cornet-à-Pistons & Piano	arr. J.C. Hammens	cornet and piano	1845	unknown	n/a	BL h.2278

Les délices de Schubert ... German songs composed by F. Schubert, arranged for violoncello & piano	arr. S. Lee	cello and piano	1845	unknown	n/a	BL h.1932
'Twilight Visions' ['Erinnerung' (Kosegarten)]	trans. R.A.H.N., ed. J. King		1845?	unknown	English	BL H.2832.k.(34.)
'The Language of Flowers' ['Der Blumenbrief']	trans. Thomas Oliphant		1845?	unknown	English; German	Bl H.2832.f.(23.)
Title Unknown			1845	unknown	Unspecified	JB 13/12/45 20/12/45
'Hark, hark the lark' ['Ständchen']			c.1845	W. George	English; German	BL H.1654.ee.(34.)
'The Voice of the Tempest (Les plaintes de la jeune fille)' ['Des Mädchens Klage']	trans. de Pontigny		1845	Wessel & Co	English; French	BL H.2077
'Thou whom I vow'd to love' ['Sei mir gegrüsst']			1845?	Wessel & Co	English; German	BL H.2076
Révéries réligieuses de Schubert et Beethoven. 10 sacred melodies	arr. Franz Liszt	piano	1845	Wessel & Co	n/a	BL h.584.(3.)
Quatre morceaux de salon, sur des mélodies de F. Schubert pour le Piano, Op. 33-36	Stephen Heller (1813-1888)		1845	Wessel & Stapleton	n/a	BL h.593.(4.)
'Hark, hark the lark' ['Ständchen']			1846	C. Sheard	English	BL H.2345./60
'On every tree that blossoms in the grove' ['Ungeduld']	trans. E. Fitz-Ball		1846	D'Almaine & Co	English	BL H.2136.(32.)
'Every Path is now forsaken' ['Um Mitternacht']	trans. H. A. Ewer		1846	Addison & Hodson	English	BL H.2136.(35.)

Title Unknown			1846	Davidson	Unspecified	TI 03/02/46
'Hark, hark the lark' ['Ständchen']			1846	J. Bingley : W. Strange	English	BL H.2345./60
'Gentle breezes' ['Ständchen']	trans. E. Fitz-Ball		1846	unknown	English; German	BL H.2136.(33.)
'Der Wanderer'			1846	unknown	English; German	BL H.2136.(34.)
'On every tree that blossoms in the grove' ['Ungeduld']	arr. J. Doppler	rondo for piano	1846	Wessel & Co	n/a	BL h.704.(17.)
'Wessel & Co.'s second collection of the melodies of F. Schubert'	arr. S. Heller	piano	1846	Wessel & Co	n/a	BL h.594. & possible ad: TI 21/08/46: 'various arrangements for piano'
'In Silent Woe I Wander By' ['Der Wanderer'], 'Ave Maria', 'Flowerets Blooming' ['Lob der Tränen'] 'I Heard a Streamlet Gushing' ['Wohin'], 'The Trout' ['Die Forelle'], 'The Gondolier of Venice' ['Der Gondelfahrer'], 'The Hunter of the Alps' ['Der Alpenjäger'], 'On Ev'ry Tree that Blossoms in the Grove' ['Ungeduld'] in *Gems of German*	trans. and arr. A. Diabelli	piano duet	1846	Wessel & Co	English	BL h.602.(4.)

melody: Lieder ohne Worte						
'Ye Stars mildly gleaming (Les Étoiles)' ['Die Sterne']	trans. de Pontigny (Eng.) and Bélanger (French)		1846	Wessel & Co	English; French	BL H.2077
'The Voice of the Tempest (Les plaintes de la jeune fille)' ['Des Mädchens Klage']	trans. de Pontigny, arr. F. Horetzky	voice and guitar	1846	Wessel & Co	English; French	BL H.1700.(65.)
Title Unknown			1846	Wessel & Co	Unspecified	JB 22/08/46
Fantasie sur des Mélodies de F. Schubert, Op.57	Sigismond Thalberg		1847	Cramer, Beale & Co	n/a	BL h.692.(5.)
'Ave Maria'		as sung by Jenny Lind	1847	Davidson	Unspecified	LN 09/10/47 LM 03/09/47 TI 06/05/48
'Impressions de voyage en Allemagne: pour la harpe, dans lequel sont introduits	Robert Nicolas Charles Bochsa		1847	unknown	n/a	BL h.170.(12.)

trois mélodies de Schubert’						
‘Ave Maria’	trans. Bélanger		1847	unknown	French	BL H.1182.(24.)
Titles Unknown - Quadrilles, waltzes, and polkas			1847	Walker and Son	Unspecified	TI 05/02/47 03/04/47
Missa in sol ad iv voces inaequales comitante organo cum instrumentis [Mass in G major (D167)]		vocal score	1848?	Josef Weinberger	Latin	BL G.450.a.(50.)
‘Waltz for the piano-forte’ by Beethoven and ‘The celebrated last waltz’ by C.M. von Weber			1848?	Metzler	n/a	University Library, Anderson Room, Cambridge MR340.a.80.12 & MR340.a.80.67
‘Ave Maria’	The poetry adapted to the music by Mr Wilson		1848	R. Addison & Co	French	BL H.1371.(8.)
‘The Erl King’ [‘Erlkönig’]	arr. Auguste Moeser	violin	1848	unknown	n/a	BL h.209.(8.)
‘The Bell! the Sabbath Bell, I hear’	arr. ?	piano	1848	unknown	Unspecified	MT 02/09/48
‘Erlkönig’, ‘Der Wanderer’, and other pieces			1849	Davidson	Unspecified	ER 17/06/49

‘Hark, hark the lark’ [‘Ständchen’]			1849	Davidson	Unspecified	TI 09/03/49
Titles Unknown - songs			1849	Davidson	Unspecified	ER 15/04/49
‘Hallelujah’ [‘Das grosse Halleluja’]	arr. ?	two sopranos and contralto	1849	Ewer & Co	English	BL H.1182.(25.)
Titles Unknown - new quadrilles, polkas, and waltzes			1849	P.G. Walker & [?]	Unspecified	LM 28/09/46 02/10/46 09/10/46 16/10/46
Title Unknown			1849	Robert Cocks & Co	Unspecified	JB 20/01/49 ER 21/01/49
Mass No. 4 in C major, Op. 48 (D452)	vocal score arr. Ebenezer Prout		1800-?	Augener	English; Latin	RAM Reserve 42
Mass No. 6 in E flat major (D950)	vocal score with pianoforte accompaniment arr. Ebenezer Prout		1800-?	Augener	English; Latin	RAM Reserve 42

APPENDIX 2: PERIODICAL ARTICLES MENTIONING SCHUBERT, 1828-1849

Key to Subject of Article Codes:

AD = Advertisement, CR = Concert Review, CA = Concert Announcement, RE = Review, AN = Announcement, CO = Commentary, LEC = Lecture, LRE = Lecture Review, Prog = Concert Programme

Key to Source Codes - see previous page

Titles of works given in language printed (standardizations made). Some unexpected titles may appear in the context of Schubert's name, which have been left as according to the original source. Original German titles are given in brackets where available.

Date of Journal d/m/y (1800s)	Source	Appearance in another source	Subject of Article	Piece(s)	Performer (first name given where possible)	Place of Concert	Notes/Comments (includes date of concert where possible to determine)
09/11/35	TI		CA/CR	'Der Hirt auf dem Felsen'	Bishop	Hanover Square Rooms	7 Nov 1835
11/04/36	TI		CR	title unknown	Joseph Theodor Kroff	Hanover Square Rooms	8 April 1836 - composer of great merit, but poorly known in England
03/06/36	MW		CR	'The Swiss peasant on the rock' ['Der Hirt auf dem Felsen']	Bishop	Hanover Square Rooms	27 May 1836
30/03/37	DQ	TI 29/03/37	Prog	'Gretchen am Spinnrade'	Maria Caradori-Allan, Cipriani Potter	Hanover Square Rooms	30 March 1837

					(accompanist)		
23/05/37	TI		CA	‘Erlkönig’ and ‘Ungeduld’	Wilhelmine Schroeder Devrient, Louise Dulcken (accompanist)	Concert Room, King’s Theatre	26 May 1838
27/05/37	TI		CR	‘Erlkönig’ and ‘Ungeduld’	Wilhelmine Schroeder Devrient, Louise Dulcken (accompanist)	Concert Room, King’s Theatre	26 May 1838 - beauty of ‘Erlkönig’ not as appreciated as 2nd song
05/04/38	DQ		Prog	‘The Passing Bell’	Charlotte Ann Birch	Hanover Square Rooms	5 April 1838
06/05/38	JB	EX 06/05/38 MC 07/05/38	CA	‘Der Wanderer’	Michael William Balfe	Hanover Square Rooms	9 May 1838
10/05/38	TI		CR	‘Der Wanderer’	Michael William Balfe	Hanover Square Rooms	9 May 1838
24/05/38	TI		CR	‘Ständchen’	König	Hanover Square Rooms	
14/09/38	MC		CO	‘The Erl King’ [‘Erlkönig’]			Commentary on lack of English song vs. operatic airs, compares composer Miss Mounsey’s setting of ‘Erl King’ with

							Schubert's
29/01/39	TI	CHA 02/02/39 JB 03/02/39 04/02/39	CR	'Through the Night's Dark Shadows' ['Ständchen']	Charlotte Ann Birch	Hanover Square Rooms	28 Jan 1839, Chartist - 'Miss Birch sang one of those beautiful songs of Schubert's, which are beginning to be known in this country, in so charming a manner that it was enthusiastically encored.'
05/02/39	MC		CA	title unknown		Hanover Square Rooms	series of concerts on 7, 21 Feb & 7, 21 March 1839
07/02/39	DQ		Prog	'In Silent Woe', 'Hymn to the Virgin'	Michael William Balfe ('In Silent Woe'), Mason ('Hymn to the Virgin'), Cipriani Potter (accompanist)	Hanover Square Rooms	7 Feb 1839
15/02/39	TI		CR	3 songs arranged by Franz Liszt including 'Pagen-lied' and 'Die Post'	Ignaz Moscheles (unknown song), Josef Theodor Kroff (2 named songs)	Hanover Square Rooms	14 Feb 1839 - on 'Die Post' - 'a singular and original combination of pathos and liveliness'
12/05/39	ER		CR	title unknown		Willis' Rooms	
12/05/39	SCT		CR	'Softly the moonlight falls	Charlotte Ann Birch	Willis' Rooms	7 May 1839 - 'elegant melody, with an obligato violin accompaniment'

				around’			
26/05/39	ER		CR	title unknown	Giovanni Battista Rubini		‘A song of Schubert’s, which, *for* Schubert, we did not much admire; there was a disagreeable change from a minor to a major third, which annoyed and puzzled our oracular organs.’
26/05/39	EX		CR	‘Quando avvolto’ [‘Ständchen’]	Nicholas Ivanoff		20 May 1839 - ‘and a very charming ballad by a composer of most promising talent, who died young’
23/06/39	JB		CA	‘Quando avvolto’ [‘Ständchen’]	Nicholas Ivanoff	residence of R. Parnther	26 June 1839
04/11/39	MC		CO	‘Vergissmeinnicht’			‘is quite worthy of Schubert’
13/02/40	DQ		Prog	‘Let me weep’ [‘Gretchen am Spinnrade’]	Stockhausen, Lucas (accompanist)	Hanover Square Rooms	13 Feb 1840
12/03/40	DQ		Prog	‘Holy Power Above’	Charlotte Ann Birch, Lucas (accompanist)	Hanover Square Rooms	12 March 1840
12/03/40	MW		RE	‘Anguish’ [‘Aufenthalt’]			Publisher- Ewer & Co.: article comments on lack of English music of equal calibre to Schubert, Weber, or Spohr - comments favourably on ‘Anguish’ as ‘more thoroughly indicative of genius than any one of the rest’, on his originality - ‘the novel process of modulation into G major, and the thrilling effect of the succeeding passage, throughout

							which the bass and melody move in octaves.’
26/04/40	AG		CO				notes that Liszt admires Beethoven and Schubert - who is only beginning to be known in England
22/05/40	TI	JB 31/05/40	CA	‘Serenade’ [‘Ständchen’], ‘Ave Maria’	Franz Liszt		9 June 1840
14/06/40	AG	ER 14/06/40	CR	‘Serenade’ [‘Ständchen’], ‘Ave Maria’	Franz Liszt	Hanover Square Rooms	9 June 1840
27/06/40	TI		CA	‘Weary Flowers’, ‘The Erl King’ [‘Erlkönig’]	Franz Liszt	Willis’ Rooms	29 June 1840
02/07/40	TI	SSL 05/07/40	CR	‘Weary Flowers’, ‘The Erl King’ [‘Erlkönig’]	Franz Liszt	Willis’ Rooms	29 June 1840 - Southern Star - 1st piece of Schubert’s was encored
01/10/40	MW		RE	‘The Mighty Trees Bend’ [‘Die junge Nonne’]			Publisher-Wessel & Co.: Article- ‘This is one of the most extraordinary songs of Schubert we have yet seen.’
15/10/40	MW		RE	‘Gently Close Thine Eyes’, ‘Tis a Mill that’s Yonder Peeping’			Publisher-Wessel & Co.: Article- ‘charming’ ‘song-making genius’

28/11/40	MT		CA/CR	'Serenade' ['Ständchen'], 'Ave Maria'	Franz Liszt	Athenaeum	Concert announcement for Manchester (4 Dec 1840) with review of same concert in London
26/12/40	MT		CR	title unknown	Walton	Athenaeum	21 Dec 1840
27/02/41	MT		CR	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Walton (singer), Johnson (accompanist)		23 February 1841 - a 'difficult song [...] [which has] full and expressive accompaniment'
28/02/41	AG		CR	title unknown - song	Marshall [one of two brothers William or Charles Ward]	Royal Academy of Music	no date
11/03/41	DQ	AG 14/03/41	Prog	'I Came When Spring Was Smiling'	Elizabeth Rainforth, William Sterndale Bennett (accompanist)	Hanover Square Rooms	11 March 1841
11/04/41	ER		RE	nothing of Schubert's			Grand Fantasia arranged for piano by Henry Herz on 2 melodies of Schubert
10/05/41	DQ		Prog	'Thy Face in Every Blooming Flower'	Woodyatt, Benedict (accompanist)	Hanover Square Rooms	10 May 1841
18/05/41	TI	SCT 23/05/41	CR	'La douce paix' from *L'Attente* [possibly 'Du bist die Ruh']	Conte di Candia Mario	Buckingham Palace	17 May 1841 - Royal dinner party and concert at Buckingham Palace, The Satirist - author notes that one would expect native artists (patriotism) but instead all foreigners

30/05/41	SCT		CR	'Erlkönig'	Joseph Staudigl	Buckingham Palace	26 May 1841 - specifically requested by Royal Highness Prince Albert at Buckingham Palace - all foreign music
17/06/41	TI		CR	'Ave Maria'	Conte di Candia Mario	concert room, Italian Opera-house	16 June 1841
25/06/41	TI		CR	Duo concertante on the concertina and violincello	Giulio Regondi and J. Lidel	Hanover Square Rooms	23 June 1841
02/07/41	TI		CR	'Serenade' ['Ständchen']	Franz Liszt	Residence of Mrs Grote	29 July 1841
04/07/41	AG		CR	title unknown - melodies	Conte di Candia Mario	Buckingham Palace	30 June 1841 - given at Buckingham Palace, author laments that not one of the pieces was by an English composer or vocalist
04/07/41	ER	SCT 04/07/41 TI 02/07/41	CR	'Der Wanderer'	Joseph Staudigl	Buckingham Palace	1 July 1841 - Royal dinner party and concert at Buckingham Palace
30/10/41	MT		CR	'Let me weep' ['Gretchen am Spinnrade']	Leach	Athenaeum	25 Oct 1841
20/02/42	ER		CR	'Hark, hark the lark' ['Ständchen']	Adelaide Kemble	London Tavern	29 Jan 1842
01/04/42	DQ		Prog	'The Recluse'	Charlotte Dolby [Sainton-Dolby], C. Potter	Hanover Square Rooms	1 April 1842

					(accompanist)		
23/04/42	JOJ		CA	unspecified romance, ‘Hark, hark the lark’ [‘Ständchen’]	Kornig (Romance) and Adelaide Kemble (‘Ständchen’)	Oxford Town Hall	26 April 1842
27/04/42	TI		CR	‘Die Nonne’	Joseph Theodor Kroff	Hanover Square Rooms	25 April 1842
29/04/42	DQ	TI 30/04/42	Prog	‘Der Wanderer’	Charlotte Dolby [Sainton-Dolby], Pickering (accompanist)	Hanover Square Rooms	29 April 1842 -‘less successful in Schubert’s *Wanderer*. It was ill-judged on her part to select a song the effect of which so exclusively depends on the expression of deep feeling.’
30/04/42	EX		CR	‘Die Nonne’	Joseph Theodor Kroff	Hanover Square Rooms	29 March 1842
12/05/42	TI		CR	‘Erlkönig’	Charlotte Dolby [Sainton-Dolby]	Hanover Square Rooms	10 May 1842 - ‘the programme presented nothing particularly noble, the excellent style of the performances rendered it a great treat.’
21/05/42	TI		CR	‘Der Wanderer’	Joseph Staudigl	Opera Concert-room	20 May 1842

03/06/42	TI		CR	'Gretchen am Spinnrade' and 'Die junge Nonne'	Joseph Theodor Kroff ('Nonne') and Adelaide Kremble ('Gretchen')	Hanover Square Rooms	2 June 1842 - 'The deep pathos with which she sang the beautiful *Scena* from Goethe's *Faust* [Gretchen am Spinnrade], by Schubert, elicited the most enthusiastic plaudits. Herr Kroff sang Schubert's song "Die junge Nonne" which his usual taste and expression, the poetical beauties of the subject being peculiarly adapted to his powers of voice and execution.' A particularly noteworthy performance, as it was sung by a man, where traditionally it is sung by a woman.
07/06/42	TI		CR	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Heinefetter [probably one of three sisters: Savine, Clara Stöckl-Heinefetter, or Kathinka]	Hanover Square Rooms	4 June 1842 - 'Madame Heinefetter sang Schubert's song of "The Erl King," with beautiful pathos and expression - so much so, that she obtained an *encore*: this song was one of the best in the programme.'
27/06/42	TI		CR	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Adelaide Kemble, Sigismond Thalberg (accompanist)	Italian Opera House	24 June 1842
01/07/42	TI		CR	title unknown	Lutzer and Joseph Staudigl	residence of Hon. Colonel & Mrs Leicester Stanhope	29 June 1842
09/07/42	TI		CR	titles unknown - airs	Mario	Cambridge House	8 July 1842

08/08/42	HTS		CA	title unknown - melody	Ostergaard	Green Row Rooms	30 Aug 1842
12/08/42	HP		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Willoughby Hunter Weiss	Theatre Royal	20 Aug 1842
14/08/42	ER		CR	'Ave Maria' and 'Ständchen'	Adelaide Kemble		8 Aug 1842 - 'were received with thrills of pleasure and applause, and proved how capable the artist was of realising the divine *affectus*, or most difficult conceptions of the inspired composer.'
26/08/42	HP		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Willoughby Hunter Weiss	Theatre Royal	20 Aug 1842
27/08/42	BM		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Willoughby Hunter Weiss		25 Aug 1842 - 'Schubert's celebrated song'
10/09/42	PC		CR	title unknown	Ostergaard		no date - 'a very chaste melody'
22/11/42	TI		CR	nothing of Schubert's		Hanover Square Rooms	21 Nov 1842 –Mr Henry Smart's 'Estelle' written in school of Spohr and Schubert
04/12/42	SCT		CA	'Ave Maria'	Koenig (cornet), Henri Laurent (piano)	Theatre Royal English Opera House	5 Dec 1842
29/12/42	TI		CR	nothing of Schubert's		Horns	28 Dec 1841 – Mr Henry Smart's 'Estelle' reminds writer of songs of Schubert
26/03/43	MT		CR	'Ave Maria'	Saymour	Athenaeum	21 May 1843
30/04/43	AG		CR	'Weary Flowers'	Manvers	Hanover Square Rooms	27 April 1843

01/05/43	DQ		Prog	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Charlotte Dolby [Sainton-Dolby], Lucas (accompanist)	Crosby Hall	1 May 1843
06/05/43	JB	MC 11/05/43	CA	'Der Wanderer'	Joseph Staudigl	Hanover Square Rooms	12 May 1843
13/05/43	EX		CR	'Der Wanderer'	Joseph Staudigl	Philharmonic Society	8 May 1843 - 'exceedingly beautiful composition'
21/05/43	AG		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Charlotte Dolby [Sainton-Dolby]		18 May 1843
26/05/43	TI		CR	title unknown		Hanover Square Rooms	25 May 1843 -'charming minor pieces'
11/06/43	AG		CR	'Der Wanderer'	Joseph Staudigl	Marlborough House	5 June 1843 - 'It will be seen that the Queen Dowager [who gave the concert] has not turned her back upon *native* talent, and that the music at her Concert, unlike those given by Her Majesty, was selected principally from the works of *English* composers.'
24/06/43	MT		CA	'Revenge', 'Der Wanderer', 'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Joseph Staudigl	Theatre Royal	29 June 1843 - extra concert due to good reception on 21 June. 'Herr Staudigl will, by particular desire, repeat "Revenge" and "Der Wanderer" and introduce Schubert's wild romance of the "Erl King,"'
24/06/43	MT		CR	'Der Wanderer'	Joseph Staudigl	Theatre Royal	21 June 1843 - 'is characterized by touches of pathos'

25/06/43	SCT		CR	'Aufenthalt'	Joseph Staudigl	Buckingham Palace	14 June, 1843 - sarcastically writes, '"English-minded" Queen to "native" talent'
01/07/43	MT		CR	title unknown - solo on piano	Grattann	Theatre Royal	29 June 1843
15/07/43 17/07/43	JB		CO				'We cannot take up an English ballad without perceiving that the composer's head is full of Spohr, and Weber, and Schubert, whose defects and mannerisms it is much easier to copy than their beauties.'
16/07/43	SCT		CA/CR	title unknown - aria	Conte di Candia Mario		no date - laments that England can pay foreign artists large sums while 'its own children are starving'
30/07/43	AG		AN	'The Sisters' [see below]			Announcement of new music - 'another beautiful ballad'
30/07/43	ER		RE	'The Sisters' [article indicates this is by Shakespeare, however only three of his poems were set to music - 'Trinklied', 'Ständchen' and 'An Sylvia' - none of which seems to fit title]			'This is one of a set of songs illustrative of passages from the text of Shakspere [sic]. The melody is simple and vocal, but possesses little originality or character.'
06/08/43	ER		CO		Pierre François Wartel		Commentary on vocalist - 'the admiration he excites in singing the delightful productions of

							Schubert’
10/08/43	MC		CR	‘Jusqu’ à toi’ [‘Ständchen’]	Conte di Candia Mario	Windsor Castle	9 Aug 1843
13/08/43	AG		CR	‘Dove mai trovarlo’	Moltini and F. Lablache	St James’s Palace	9 Aug 1843
28/10/43	MC	TI 01/11/43 02/11/43	CA	‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	Hamilton Braham	Hanover Square Rooms	2 Nov 1843
04/11/43	EX	BLL 05/11/43	CR	‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	Hamilton Braham	Hanover Square Rooms	2 Nov 1843
11/11/43	TI		CA	‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]		Hanover Square Rooms	16 Nov 1843 - additional concert, due to good reception
25/11/43 27/11/43	JB		CO				‘In the works of Spohr, and Weber, and Schubert, these are the shades of beautiful pictures, set off by the lights of imagination and genius: but the imitators [contemporary English composers] copy only the shades.’
14/12/43	TI		CA	‘Ave Maria’		Theatre Royal	14 Dec 1843
15/12/43	MC		CA	‘Ave Maria’		Theatre Royal	15 Dec 1843 - ‘the celebrated Romance, Ave Maria’
16/12/43	BM		CA	‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	Charlotte Dolby [Sainton-Dolby]	Philharmonic Society	18 Dec 1843
23/12/43	BM		CR	‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	Charlotte Dolby [Sainton-	Philharmonic Society	18 Dec 1843

					Dolby]		
24/12/43	SCT		CA	titles unknown - romances		Theatre Royal	
14/01/44	ER		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Hamilton Braham	Theatre Royal	10 Feb 1844
03/02/44	EX	ER 04/02/44	CA	title unknown		Theatre Royal	5 Feb 1844
03/02/44	AA	JB 03/02/44	CA/CR	title unknown		Theatre Royal	
03/02/44 05/02/44	TI		CA	title unknown		Theatre Royal	7 Feb 1844
04/02/44	SCT		CA/CR	title unknown		Theatre Royal	
07/02/44	TI		CA	'Ave Maria'	Koenig (cornet)	Theatre Royal	7 Feb 1844
16/03/44	MT		CR	'Tell me was it not so'	John Barnett	Royal Institution	11 March 1844
27/04/44	MT		CR	'Ave Maria'	Choral Society	Royal Institution	24 April 1844
05/05/44	LWN		CR	Trois Morceaux - arranged by Chatterton	John Balsir Chatterton (harp)		2 May 1844
03/06/44	DQ		Prog	'Hymn to the Virgin' - from 'Lady of the Lake'	M. Williams, W. Dorrell (accompanist)	Crosby Hall	3 June 1844
08/06/44	JB	ER 09/06/44	CA	*Fierrabras* - Overture	Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (conductor)	Philharmonic Society	10 June 1844

11/06/44	TI	JB 15/06/44 EX 15/06/44	CR	*Fierrabras* - Overture	Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (conductor)	Philharmonic Society	10 June 1844 - The Times - 'For the overture of Schubert, which is new, another performance or two will be required before it can be thoroughly appreciated. There have been more errors in the first judgment of music than in any other art.' John Bull - 'an overture by Schubert, the composer of the celebrated songs, which disappointed the expectation excited by his name.' The Examiner - 'Of the composition by Schubert we are constrained to say, that it is written without unity of design, and is a dry, dull collection of unrelated passages, much to the disappointment of everybody; for something of a superior kind was expected from one whose vocal works show him to have been endowed with no small share of inventive genius.'
13/06/44	MW		CR	*Fierrabras* - Overture			10 June 1844 - criticism by James William Davison. Considers Schubert as 'overrated'. Has written a 'few good songs', but argues that so has every composer.
22/06/44 29/06/44	JB	AA 29/06/44	CA	Notturno in D flat, 'L'adieu' ['Adieu'; see above], Etude in D minor, and Polka Brillante		Hanover Square Rooms	1 July 1844

25/06/44	TI	JB 29/06/44 01/07/44 EX 29/06/44	CR	'La Religieuse' ['Die Nonne']	de Revial, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (piano)	Philharmonic Society	24 June 1844
13/11/44	TI		AD	ad for the instrument, basso di camera			'In the higher class of compositions for the pianoforte of Hummel, Ries, Cramer, Schubert, and others […] its [The music of the aforementioned composers] advantages can hardly be over estimated.'
29/11/44	MC		CA	'Ave Maria'	Koenig	Theatre Royal	29 Nov 1844
28/02/45	TI		CR	'Hark, hark the lark' ['Ständchen']	Schloss		26 Feb 1845
08/03/45	AA		CR	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Clara Seyton		4 March 1845
24/03/45	DQ		Prog	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Ley, H. Westrap (accompanist)		24 March 1845
25/03/45 27/03/45	MC		CA	title unknown - vocal	Clara Seyton	The Music Hall	Tuesday and Thursday evenings 1845
19/04/45	MC		CR	'La douce paix' from *L'Attente* [possibly 'Du bist die Ruh']	Conte di Candia Mario	Montagu-house, home of Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch	no date - attended by Queen and Prince Albert
21/04/45	DQ		Prog	'When the Shades of Eve'	Kirkham, H. Smart (accompanist)	Crosby Hall	21 April 1845

17/05/45	MC		CR	'Das Fischermädchen' and 'Die Forelle'	Schloss	Clarencehouse	16 May 1845 - Duchess of Kent's concert, attended by Queen and Prince Albert
21/06/45	MT		CA	'Ave Maria'	Barrett	Philharmonic Society	28 June 1845
22/06/45	ER		CR	'Ave Maria'	Conte di Candia Mario	Her Majesty's Theatre	16 June 1845
16/08/45	EG		CO	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']			
20/09/45	IJ		CR	'Ave Maria'	Conte di Candia Mario		16 Sept 1845 - Norwich Music Festival
01/11/45	JOJ		CA	'Hark, hark the lark' ['Ständchen']	Schloss	Star Assembly Room	3 Nov 1845
25/11/45	MC		AD/RE	title unknown			'The celebrated Schubert may be regarded as the creator of a new species of compositions, in which the vocal and the instrumental are so blended, that it is often difficult to say which of the two predominates; and in which the instrumental portion, instead of being a mere accompaniment to the voice, is not less essential than the vocal part (and sometimes even more) in completing the design of the composer. With this combination we have long been acquainted in the dramatic scene and the cantata; but Schubert was the first who applied it to the popular song or ballad.'

01/01/46	WF		AN	The Cavalcade Quadrilles			Announcement of new music - 'These are written with spirit, the time is well marked, and the airs striking and well calculated for the subject, and they have a rather brilliant effect.'
21/01/46 22/01/46	TEF		CR	'On mossy bank reclining'		Globe Hotel	13 Jan 1846
29/01/46	DN		AD/RE	title unknown			Regarding German vocal music - 'The celebrated Schubert though […] certainly raised it to a height, and gave it an importance, which it did not previously possess.' Best version of Schubert's songs to appear in England is Thomas Oliphant's. 'Schubert in his own country, gave an impetus to this species of composition, and the greatest living composers of Germany have devoted much attention to it.' 'They have one great advantage - which they possess in common with the songs of Schubert [...] - the genius of the musician has been inspired by words which are really *poetry*.'
15/05/46 16/05/46	TI		CA	'Gretchen am Spinnrade'	Marie Moke Pleyel	Willis' Rooms	18 May 1846
20/05/46	TI		CR	'Gretchen am Spinnrade'	Marie Moke Pleyel	Willis' Rooms	18 May 1846
23/05/46	TI		CR	titles unknown - two German airs			22 May 1846

05/06/46	DN		CO			Hanover Square Rooms	Commentary on Madame Pleyel's recitals [pianoforte] - 'We cannot […] suppress our disappointment at finding […] that she has brought forward nothing (with the single exception of one of Schubert's songs […]), but trifling and frivolous music.'
05/06/46	TI		CR	'Let me weep' ['Gretchen am Spinnrade']	Marie Moke Pleyel	Hanover Square Rooms	4 June 1846
16/06/46	TI		CR	Duet for two pianos - subjects from the songs of Schubert	Julius Benedict	Her Majesty's Theatre	15 June 1846
24/06/46	DN		CR	nothing of Schubert's		Willis' Rooms	'Mr J. L. Hatton […] has obtained general admiration for compositions really worthy of Schubert.'
27/06/46	DN		CR	nothing of Schubert's		Hanover Square Rooms	'The pianoforte accompaniment was too elaborate […]. In this respect our young composers all imitate Schubert.'
15/07/46	TI		CA	'The Litania' ['Litaniei']	Alfred Piatti (violoncello)	Theatre Royal	15 July 1846
17/10/46 19/10/46	JB		CR	2 songs by Czapek		Sussex Hall	15 Oct 1846 - Czapek 'has rivalled Schubert'
01/11/46	ER		CR	'Barcarolle' ['Gondelfahrer']	Arthurson		28 Nov 1846
07/11/46	MC		CO	title unknown			'I have heard that the popular and beautiful vocal creations of Schubert, which are matchless in their way, were all sketched in a

							coffee-house, in a cloud of smoke, amidst the rattle of billiards and the circle of jovial companions.'
05/01/47	MC	TI 05/01/47	CA	title unknown		Crosby Hall	5 Jan 1847
04/03/47 05/03/47	TI		CA	'The Dying Wife's Farewell'	Cubitt	Crosby Hall	5 March 1847
06/03/47	MC		CR	'The Dying Wife's Farewell'	Cubitt	Crosby Hall	5 March 1847
04/05/47	DN	MC 04/05/47 TI 04/05/47	CR	'Le secret' ['Geheimes']	Conte di Candia Mario	Buckingham Palace	3 May 1847 - Queen's Concert
26/05/47	DN	MC 26/05/47	CR	'Erlkönig'	Jenny Lutzer	Hanover Square Rooms	25 May 1847
29/05/47	DN	TI 29/05/47 HP 04/06/47	CR	'Ave Maria' and 'Erlkönig'	Jenny Lind ('Ave Maria') and Joseph Staudigl ('Erlkönig')	Buckingham Palace	28 May 1847 - Queen's concert
01/07/47	DN	TI 01/07/47	CR	'Der Neugierige' and 'Der Müller und der Bach'	Jenny Lind	Buckingham Palace	30 June 1847 - Queen's concert

10/08/47	DN		CO				Commentary on publication of Six English Songs by Native Composers - title-page of the publication says: 'It being too often the case that *the names of a living English composer on the title-page of a song is injurious to its success*, the editor has published the above anonymously, preferring that they would stand or fall by their own merits' (Italics original to source). Author of commentary writes that 'In vocal music for the chamber, the present public taste...inclines to the German composers. The numerous songs of Schubert, through the medium of English versions of the words, have acquired great popularity, which has been largely shared by the songs of Mendelssohn, Spohr, Proch, Curschmann, Lachner, and other composers of the present day.'
08/02/48	MT		CR	'Die Post'		Music Hall, Albion Hotel	5 Feb 1848 - a 'soul-breathing song [...] a beautiful song'
14/02/48	TI		CA	title unknown	Edmund Chipp (organ)	Apollonicon Rooms	18 Feb 1848
22/02/48	MT		CR	'Dein ist mein' ['Ungeduld']	Ciabatti	Concert Hall	21 Feb 1848
26/02/48	MT		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	J. Q. Wetherbee		23 Feb 1848

04/03/48	MT		RE	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	J. Q. Wetherbee		3 March 1848 - last of 6 lectures. On Schubert's songs: 'they were at first only appreciated by the few, but now they were beginning to be understood and enjoyed by all; they came from the heart, and the heart in return would respond to their influence [...]. Schubert's songs, like those of his countrymen generally, were characterised by a rich and elaborate accompaniment, every note of which claimed its value. Their melodies stood out, and gave life, feeling, and beauty to the rich back ground which supported them.'
13/05/48	MT	TI 26/5/48	CR	'Ave Maria' – adapted	John Wilson	Music Hall, Albion Hotel	11 May 1848 - The Times- 'Mr Wilson has allied this beautiful lyric to one of the most plaintive melodies of Schubert.'
03/06/48	TI		CR	Stephen Heller's arrangement of 'La truite' ['Die Forelle']	Charles Hallé	Hanover Square Rooms	no date
18/06/48	ER		CR	'Der Wanderer'	Müller [one of four brothers, Karl Friedrich (1st violin), Franz Ferdinand Georg (2nd violin), Theodore Heinrich	Willis' Rooms	12 June 1848

					Gustav (viola), August Theodor (cello)]		
24/06/48	TI		CA	title unknown - violoncello solo	Bernhard Molique, Prosper Sainton, Jacob Z. Hermann [also known as Jakob Zeugheer], Deloffre, Thomas Henry Weist Hill, Alfred Mellon, Alfred Piatti	Willis' Rooms	27 June 1848
07/07/48	MC		CR	'Ich schnitt es gern' ['Ungeduld']	Schwartz		5 July 1848

16/08/48	TI		CA	‘Der Wanderer’	Müller [one of four brothers, Karl Friedrich (1st violin), Franz Ferdinand Georg (2nd violin), Theodore Heinrich Gustav (viola), August Theodor (cello)]	Whittington Club	16 Aug 1848
28/10/48	MT		RE	‘Death! our nature’s dread’	J. Q. Wetherbee		24 Oct 1848 -1st of 4 lectures. 3 types of composers. 2nd type, where Schubert falls, is for ‘those who connect rich harmony with the emphatic expression of particular words and sentences, rather than their collective sense, and regard melody as secondary.’ Provides description of key changes in ‘Death! our nature’s dread’.
07/11/48	MT		RE	‘The Erl King’ [‘Erlkönig’], ‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	J. Q. Wetherbee		31 Oct 1848 - 3rd lecture - Review of lecture on vocal expression

25/12/48 16/04/49 18/04/49	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Charlotte Dolby [Sainton-Dolby]	Exeter Hall	27 Dec 1848 - 6th concert. 21st concert advertised on 18/4/49
30/12/48	MT		RE	title unknown			Literary Review - poetry written by a clergyman to melodies of Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Cherubini, Schubert, Méhul, and Beethoven
04/01/49	TI		CR	serenade in D minor	Eugène Vivier (horn)	Exeter Hall	3 Jan 1849
13/01/49	MT		CR	'Die Post'	Matthews		no date
16/01/49	LM		CA	'Hark, hark the lark' ['Ständchen']		Concert Hall, Lord Nelson Street	16 Jan 1849
18/01/49	DN	LN 20/01/49	CR	'Am Meer'	Jenny Lind	Windsor Castle	16 Jan 1849 - Queen's concert
30/01/49	MT		RE	'Last greeting' ['Adieu'; see above]	J. Q. Wetherbee		26 Jan 1849 - Review of a lecture given on 'the modern art of music, and the degree of cultivation necessary for its appreciation.'
14/04/49	IJ		CA	'Der Wanderer'	Eliza Ann Birch	Ipswich Theatre	17 April 1849

29/04/49	ER		CR	‘Der Wanderer’	Müller [one of four brothers, Karl Friedrich (1st violin), Franz Ferdinand Georg (2nd violin), Theodore Heinrich Gustav (viola), August Theodor (cello)]	Exeter Hall	25 April 1849 - ‘nearly mesmerized the audience.’
07/05/49	TI		CR	‘Fête de Chasseurs’	Band of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards	Buckingham Palace	4 May 1849 - Queen’s concert
12/05/49	LN		CR	‘Trockne Blumen’	Jetty de Treffz	Buckingham Palace	6 May 1849 - Queen’s concert
12/05/49	JB	EX 12/05/49	CA	‘Der Neugierige’	Giorgio Stigelli	Exeter Hall	14 May 1849
22/05/49	TI		CR	‘Adieu’ [see above]	Pierre François Wartel	Hanover Square Rooms	21 May 1849 - ‘M. Wartol [Wartel], who appeared for the first time in London, has a continental celebrity for singing the romances and ballads of Schubert.’

29/05/49	DN	TI 29/05/49 EX 02/06/49 LN 02/06/49 SCT 02/06/49 ER 03/06/49	CR	'Ave Maria'	Pierre François Wartel	Philharmonic Society	28 May 1849 - Daily News - 'This German song, too, was sung in French and its original pianoforte accompaniment had also undergone the process of orchestral scoring.' The Times - criticized Wartel for choice of songs - 'That of Schubert is almost equally ineffective in a large room.' Lady's Newspaper - 'M. Wartel sang [...] with not much success.' Era - criticized M. Wartel for choice of songs. Examiner - author did not like German songs translated into French, '(why not English, or Italian!)'. He also did not like what happened when the 'whole gigantic power of the band was brought to bear on' the 'simple pianoforte accompaniment'. Also wrote, 'we pitied the composer, Schubert, whose expressive and beautiful air deserved better treatment from all the parties concerned in disfiguring it.'
09/07/49	TI		CR	title unknown	Apollinaire de Kontski (violin)	Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden	6 July 1849
21/07/49	LN	ER 22/07/49	CR	title unknown - a melody	Apollinaire de Kontski (violin)	residence of Madame Dulcken	16 July 1849
22/09/49	PG		CR	'La Poste' ['Die Post']	39th regiment		18 Sept 1849 - Preston Floral and Horticultural Society's Show
29/09/49	MT		CA	title unknown - tenor solo	Molnar, Scates (concertina)	Free Trade Hall	29 Sept 1849

06/10/49	SCT		CR	'Die Schöne Müllerin', 'Die Forelle'	Schloss		4 Oct 1849
13/10/49	MT		CA	title unknown		Free Trade Hall	16 and 18 Oct 1849
22/11/49	TEF		RE	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	J. Q. Wetherbee	Royal Subscription Rooms	16 Nov 1849 - Review of a Lecture given on "On the present state and prospects of the Italian and German Schools of Melody"
23/12/49	ER		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Karl Johann Formes		19 Dec 1849 - 'one of the best things of the class ever written...One "Wanderer" is worth a world of "Seas," "Wolfs," and "Bay of Biscays."'
27/12/49	TI		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Karl Johann Formes	Exeter Hall	26 Dec 1849

APPENDIX 3: PERIODICAL ARTICLES MENTIONING SCHUBERT, 1850-1866

Key to Subject of Article Codes:

AD = Advertisement, CR = Concert Review, CA = Concert Announcement, RE = Review, AN = Announcement, CO = Commentary, LEC = Lecture, LRE = Lecture Review, Prog = Concert Programme

Key to Source Codes - see previous page

Titles of works given in language printed (standardizations made). Some unexpected titles may appear in the context of Schubert's name, which have been left as according to the original source. Original German titles are given in brackets where available.

Date of Journal d/m/y (1800s)	Source	Appearance in another source	Subject of Article	Piece(s)	Performer (first name given where possible)	Place of Concert	Notes/Comments (includes date of concert where possible to determine)
19/01/50	LN	ER 20/01/50	CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Karl Johann Formes		16 Jan 1850
26/01/50	MT		CR	'L'eloge des larmes' ['Lob der Tränen'], 'Barcarolle' ['Gondelfahrer'], and 'Adelaide'	Charles Hallé	Assembly Rooms	24 Jan 1850
09/02/50	MW		CO				Written by James William Davison. Lengthy negative critique of Schubert. Discusses 'the Romantic School', who considered Schubert a genius.

16/02/50	LEM		CR	'Serenade' ['Ständchen']	Wood		11 Feb 1850
23/02/50	MT		AD	nothing specific			sales by auction, 'music by following masters'
27/04/50	LN		CA/CR	nothing specific	Alexandre Billet	St Martin's Hall	26 April, 10 May, 24 May 1850
23/05/50	TI	DN 23/05/50	CA	Heroic Marches, Op. 27 (D602)	Alexandre Billet	St Martin's Hall	24 May 1850 - 3rd and last performance of 'specimens of all the great pianoforte composers'
25/05/50	MC		CR	Heroic Marches, Op. 27 (D602)	Alexandre Billet	St Martin's Hall	24 May 1850
01/06/50	MC		CR	duet for two pianos on themes by Schubert	Julius Benedict and B. Richards	Hanover Square Rooms	31 May 1850
16/06/50	ER		CR	duet for two pianos on themes by Schubert	Julius Benedict and B. Richards	Hanover Square Rooms	14 June 1850 - composed by Mr Benedict
14/07/50	ER		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Emerik Szekely	Willis' Rooms	8 July 1850
17/08/50 24/08/50	BM		CA	'Aug dem Wasser zu Singen'	Sontag [either Franziska or Henriette	Victoria Rooms	29 Aug 1850
29/08/50	TEF		CA	'Jusqu' à toi' ['Ständchen']	Italo Gardoni		30 Aug 1850
13/09/50	TI	EX 14/09/50	CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Karl Johann Formes	Shire Hall	11 Sept 1850 - Gloucester Music Festival - 'encored by the whole audience'
19/10/50	BM		CR	nothing specific - instrumental	Bristol Conservatoire of Music		15 Oct 1850

06/11/50	MT		CR	Grand Trio - piano forte, violin, violoncello and 'Weary Flowers'	Deakin (singer)		no date
07/11/50	MC		CR	nothing specific	George Cooper (organ)		7 Nov 1850
09/11/50	LN		CR	nothing specific	George Cooper (organ)		6 Nov 1850
09/11/50	MT		CA	'Rauschender Strom' ['Aufenthalt'], 'Die Ruhe' ['Du bist die Ruh'], 'Erlkönig'	Charles Hallé	Assembly Rooms	14 Nov 1850
11/11/50 13/11/50	TI		CA	Grand duo for Violin and Violoncello on Styrian Airs by Kunmert and Schubert [Sonata in C major, Op. 140 (D812)]	Bernhard Molique and Alfred Piatti	Her Majesty's Theatre	11 Nov 1850

15/11/50	TI		CR	Grand duo for Violin and Violoncello on Styrian Airs by Kunmert and Schubert [Sonata in C major, Op. 140 (D812)]	Bernhard Molique and Alfred Piatti		13 Nov 1850 - 'as a composition very uninteresting'
30/11/50	MT		CR	Piano Trio in E flat major Op. 100 (D929)	Charles Hallé	Assembly Rooms	28 Nov 1850 - 'The name of Schubert is justly placed amongst those of the greatest composers of his time.' Author continues to praise the Trio.
18/01/51	PG		CR	dance music			15 Jan 1851 Preston Annual Ball: 'The programme included some of the most admired dance music of Jullien, Schubert, and other composers.' [this is potentially music by Camille Schubert rather than Franz Schubert]
22/01/51	MT		CR	'Ave Maria'	Bishop		reprinted from New York Daily Tribune: 'We wish particularly to notice the fact that Madame Bishop has sung at two of her concerts, and on both occasions with encores and the greatest applause, Schubert's "Ave Maria" - one of the most profoundly beautiful works of that rare genius.'
06/05/51	DN		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	W. H. Weiss	St Martin's Hall	5 May 1851

20/05/51	TI		CR	nothing specific - lieder	Julius Stockhausen	Hanover Square Rooms	19 May 1851
25/05/51	ER		CR	violoncello solo	Menta	New Beethoven Rooms	20 May 1851
31/05/51	TI		CR	'Der Nen dierigen [sic]' ['Der Neugierige'] [?]	Reichardt	residence of Lady Vassal Webster	30 May 1851
03/06/51	TI	ER 08/06/51	CR	nothing specific - lieder	Giorgio Stigelli	St Martin's Hall	2 June 1851 - set of 3 concerts
07/06/51	LN		CO	'Erlkönig' - arrangement for violin	Ernst		Commentary on Herr Ernst's violinist abilities
09/06/51	DN		CA	'Ave Maria', solo, violoncello	Ernst, Adolphe Deloffre, Hill, Sellymann		8 June 1851
15/06/51	BLL		CA	Litanie, Violoncello Solo ['Litaniei']	Ernst, Alfred Piatti, Charles Hallé , Adolphe Deloffre, Hill		17 June 1851
28/06/51	TI		CR	'An Silvia' and 'Ständchen'	Julius Stockhausen	Hanover Square Rooms	27 June 1851 - 'two of Schubert's prettiest *lieder*'
30/08/51	DN	MC 30/08/51 TI 30/08/51	CR	'O see the moon's silvery light'	Williams	College Hall	29 Aug 1851 - Worcester Musical Festival
03/09/51	MT		CA	nothing specific	Kaufmann	Free Trade Hall	8 Sept 1851 and every evening during the week

08/11/51	MT		CR	Piano Trio in E flat major Op. 100 (D929)	Charles Hallé		6 Nov 1851
17/12/51	DN	LN 20/12/51	CR	nothing specific	Kate Hickson	Hanover Square Rooms	16 Dec 1851
01/01/52	MC	DN 02/01/52 TI 08/01/52 JB 10/01/52 MC 13/01/52	CA	nothing specific	Mulle, Garcia, William Binfield (singers), Margaret Binfield, L. Binfield, W.R. Henry Binfield, A. Binfield (instrumentalists)	New Beethoven Rooms	3 Feb 1852
11/01/52	ER		CA	a symphony			25 Jan 1852 (proposed date of concert)
21/01/52	MT		CA	'Litunia' (for Violoncello, solo) ['Litaniei']	Alfred Piatti		22 Jan 1852
28/01/52	MT		CR	'Litunia' (for Violoncello, solo) ['Litaniei']	Alfred Piatti		22 Jan 1852 - 'music of a lighter character by Schubert'
01/02/52	ER		CR	a fantasia on the violin written on Schubert's 'L'eloge des larmes' ['Lob der Tränen']	Thomas [could be one of many]		26 Jan 1852
21/02/52	MT		CA	nothing specific - 2 German Lieder	Reichardt		21 Feb 1852

23/02/52	DN		CO				On composer Kuchen - ‘His “Lieder” are almost as numerous as those of Schubert […]. They have the usual faults, as well as beauties, of the modern German school - faults from which Schubert himself was not exempt. They show too great an attachment to extreme keys, chromatic harmonies, and sudden modulations; while their instrumental accompaniments are often too operose and difficult. A German composer is apt to attach more importance to his accompaniment than to his melody. On the other hand, then generally evince an active inventive faculty, much imagination, strong and varied expression, and consummate artistic skill.’
25/02/52	MT		CR	nothing specific - 2 German Lieder	Reichardt		21 Feb 1852
13/03/52	LEM		CR	‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	Winn		8 March 1852 - ‘Schubert’s fine and characteristic song’
18/03/52	DN		CR	nothing specific	Endersohn or Mary Rose (voice), Williams (clarinet)	Hanover Square Rooms	16 March 1852 - ‘a long, dull, rambling song by Schubert, the only apology for which appeared to be the clarionet obligato accompaniment, played by Mr Williams.’

19/04/52	TI	DN 21/04/52 MC 21/04/52	CA	Grand Trio in C	Savori, Sainton, Hill, Scipion Rousselot and Coulon		21 April 1852
26/04/52	TI		CA	'Ave Maria'	Sophie Löwe	New Beethoven Rooms	26 April 1852
28/04/52 29/04/52	DN	TI 28/04/52 29/04/52	CA	'Schifferlied' [sic] [either means 'Schiffers Nachtlied' or 'Schiffers Scheidelied'] and 'Liebesbotschaft'	Jetty de Treffz ('Schifferlied') and Reichart ('Liebesbotschaft')	Hanover Square Rooms	29 April 1852
01/05/52	TI	DN 04/05/52 MC 04/05/52	CA	Quartet in D minor (D810), an arrangement by Franz Liszt of Schubert's 'beautiful melody' 'Les plaintes d'une jeune fille' ['Des Mädchens Klage']	Joseph Joachim, Moralt [whole family of musicians], Oury [either Anna Caroline or Antonio James], and Alfred Piatti, Marie Moke Pleyel (piano)	Willis' Rooms	4 May 1852
05/05/52	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Joseph Staudigl	Exeter Hall	5 May 1852

05/05/52	DN	MC 05/05/52	CR	Quartet in D minor (D810), an arrangement by Franz Liszt of Schubert's 'beautiful melody' 'Les plaintes d'une jeune fille' ['Des Mädchens Klage']	Joseph Joachim, Moralt [whole family of musicians], Oury [either Anna Caroline or Antonio James], and Alfred Piatti, Marie Moke Pleyel (piano)	Willis' Rooms	4 May 1852 - DN: posthumous quartet by 'the celebrated composer of chamber songs […] it shows marks of its author's genius and contains many beautiful traits of melody; but its deficiency in simplicity and clearness showed inexperience in instrumental compositions; and its defects were rendered more apparent by its being placed in contrast with one of Beethoven's most perfect works, his quartet in A.' 'The fair pianist [Madame Pleyel] played Schubert's lovely strain with exquisite sweetness and expression; and the fantasia was a brilliant display of execution; but we attach little value to a class of music which has for its end and object little more than an unmeaning exhibition of manual dexterity.'
06/05/52	TI	RN 09/05/52	CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Joseph Staudigl	Exeter Hall	5 May 1852 - RN: 'was received with immense applause, and was unanimously encored. We never heard Staudigl in better voice, and he evidently made a strong impression on the audience.'
16/05/52	ER		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Karl Johann Formes	Hanover Square Rooms	12 May 1852

05/06/52	MC	TI 05/06/52	CR	'Jusqu' à toi' ['Ständchen'] and 'La douce paix' from *L'Attente* [possibly 'Du bist die Ruh']	Conte di Candia Mario	Buckingham Palace	4 June 1852 - concert for Queen and Prince
08/06/52	TI		CR	'Horch, horch!' ['Ständchen'] and 'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Reichart ('Horch, horch!') and Joseph Staudigl ('Der Wanderer')	Willis' Rooms	5 June 1852
25/06/52	TI		CR	'Les plaintes d'une jeune fille' ['Des Mädchens Klage']	Marie Moke Pleyel	Willis' Rooms	24 June 1852 - 'beautiful melody'
12/07/52	DN	ER 18/07/52	CO				Commentary on vocal composer by name of "Angelina", both periodicals: 'Among these compositions we have been especially struck with a set of German songs, in the form which Schubert has rendered so popular; but, behind the mere form, betraying no mark of imitation, and entirely free from the faults into which the imitators of Schubert have generally fallen.'

06/08/52	DN	MC 06/08/52 TI 06/08/52	CR	'Das Wirtshaus', 'Der Neugierige' and 'Die Krähe'	Karl Johann Formes (first and last song) and Theodore Formes (middle song)	Osborne	5 August 1852 - concert for Queen and Prince
28/08/52	DN		CR	'Wie anders, Gretchen war dirs' from Faust [possibly 'Gretchen am Spinnrade']	Anna Zerr, Jeanne Anaïs Castellan, Italo Gardoni, Karl Formes	Osborne	26 Aug 1852 - Queen's concert
28/08/52	JOJ	LM 31/08/52 MC 13/09/52	CR	nothing specific			Birmingham Musical Festival
10/09/52	TI	DM 15/09/52	CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	W. H. Weiss		8 September 1852 - Birmingham Musical Festival
18/09/52	TI		CR	'Le Berger sur la Montagne (Mountain Shepherd)'	Enderssohn	Shire Hall	17 Sept 1852 - Hereford Musical Festival - 'Schubert's plaintive romance was sung with feeling by Mrs Enderssohn, and the clarionet *obligato* part admirably played by Mr Williams.'

20/10/52	MT		CR	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)		Athenaeum	18 Oct 1852 - 'Schubert's trio is a thing of shreds and patches. We listened in vain for that unity of idea, which stands out so prominently in the works of Mozart and Beethoven. Some of the parts and episodes, standing alone, show delicate and graceful melody, combined with great skill in combination: but they hang loosely together, do not spring out of each other, and have little or no connection with the principal subject. The best movement perhaps was the Andante. The subject broad, clear and simple, but very imperfectly developed.'
17/11/52	MT		CO				Commentary on Dr Kinkel's lectures on German literature: 'In him, as well as in Schubert, the musical composer of Vienna, was shown that depth of heartfelt earnestness, which often exists in the sons of poverty, together with the native genius that produced what the severest critics of art admitted to be true masterpieces.'
15/01/53	LN		CR	serenade on piano as transcribed by Liszt	W. R. Binfield		reprint of article from La France Musicale of Jan. 9 - discusses prominent English family (the Binfield's) in Paris

21/01/53	TI	MC 02/02/53	CA	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)	Charles Hallé, Bernhard Molique, Alfred Piatti	Willis' Rooms	5 Feb 1853
31/01/53	MC		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Band of the 2nd Life Guards	Windsor	29 Jan 1853 - Queen's Concert
05/02/53	MT		CA	Piano Trio in E flat major Op. 100 (D929)	Charles Hallé, Bernhard Molique, Alfred Piatti	Town Hall	10 Feb 1853
07/02/53	DN	LN 12/02/53	CR	Piano Trio in E flat major Op. 100 (D929)	Charles Hallé, Bernhard Molique, Alfred Piatti	Willis' Rooms	5 Feb 1853 - DN: 'The pianoforte Trio of Schubert, the renowned vocal composer, whom Mr Ella justly calls "the father of German song," excited great interest, as his instrumental works, though voluminous, are scarcely known in this country. We trust they will soon be better known; then they are, they will be a great addition to our musical treasures. This Trio [...] gave great pleasure by its elegance and symmetry, the brilliancy of the pianoforte part, and the sweet vocal melodies given to the violin and the violoncello.'
12/02/53	MT		CR	Piano Trio in E flat major Op. 100 (D929)	Charles Hallé, Bernhard Molique, Alfred Piatti	Town Hall	10 Feb 1853 - author writes that although Schubert has long list of great songs, that we cannot rank Schubert with Beethoven, Mozart, and Mendelssohn

12/02/53	JB		CR	Piano Trio in E flat major Op. 100 (D929)	Charles Hallé, Bernhard Molique, Alfred Piatti	Willis' Rooms	7 Feb 1853
15/02/53	DN		CR	a symphony	Philharmonic Society, Costa conducting	Hanover Square Rooms	14 Feb 1853
15/02/53	TI		CR	nothing specific – vocal		New Beethoven Rooms	14 Feb 1853
25/02/53	DN		CR	variations by Schubert on an original theme in E flat for two performers on the piano	Julius Benedict and Lindsay Sloper	New Beethoven Rooms	24 Feb 1853
28/02/53	DN		CA	nothing specific – vocal		New Beethoven Rooms	28 Feb 1853
11/03/53 25/03/53 01/04/53	LM		AD	nothing specific - polkas, walzes, quadrilles, Schottiches, etc.			2nd hand music
15/03/53	TI		CR	nothing performed of Schubert			The article discusses Mendelssohn's rehearsal of Symphony No. 3 in A minor, Op. 15, by Niels Wilhelm Gade with the Philharmonic Society in London. This was also the rehersal which Schubert's symphony was tried too, but disliked, so Mendelssohn withdrew both.

11/04/53	DN		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	W. H. Weiss	Hanover Square Rooms	9 April 1853
18/04/53	DN		CR	'Der Wanderer' arrang. Liszt	Zerdahelyi	residence of Mrs Milner Gibson	16 April 1853 - 'a study for the pianoforte on the subject of Schubert's celebrated song "Der Wanderer."'
21/04/53	TI	EX 23/04/53	CR	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Karl Johann Formes		18 April 1853 - TI: 'Herr Formes gave a vigorous German reading of Schubert's popular 'Erlkönig'; and the orchestral accompaniments, by whomever supplied, were exceedingly clever. But Schubert intended them for the pianoforte; and his own version is decidedly preferable. Moreover, the transposition of the song a fourth below alters its character entirely.'
25/04/53	TI		CA	nothing specific - songs	Leopold Jansa	New Beethoven Rooms	25 April 1853
29/04/53 02/05/53 05/05/53	TI	MC 04/05/53	CA	nothing specific - part songs and choruses	professional gentlemen and choristers		first and third Thursday's of each month - 'The best GLEES and MADRIGALS [sic]'
30/04/53	LN		CO	'Adieu' [see above]			well known piece by author
23/05/53 27/05/53	TI		CA	choral and concerted vocal music, without accompaniment	members of the Cologne Choral Union	Hanover Square Rooms	6 concerts: 7 June, 9 June, 11 June, 14 June, 16 June, 18 June 1853
26/05/53	DN	MC 26/05/53 TI	CR	'Les Regrets' and 'Frühlingsglaube'	Italo Gardoni (first song) Karl Johann Formes (second	Osborne	25 May 1853 - concert for Queen and Prince

		26/05/53			song)		
31/05/53	MC		CR	nothing specific	Joseph Staudigl or Jan Křtitel Pischek		no date
01/06/53	DN	MC 01/06/53 TI 01/06/53	CR	‘Serenade’ [‘Ständchen’]	Coldstream Guards	Buckingham Palace	31 May 1853 - Queen’s Concert
04/06/53	DN	MC 04/06/53 TI 04/06/53	CR	‘Auf einen Totenacker’ from ‘Das Wirthaus’	Karl Johann Formes	Buckingham Palace	3 June 1853 - Queen’s Concert
18/06/53	DN		CR	Quadrille, ‘La Poste’	Band of the 2nd Life Guards	Buckingham Palace	17 June 1853 - Queen’s Concert
04/07/53	TI		CR	‘Les plaintes d’une jeune fille’ [‘Des Mädchens Klage’]	Italo Gardoni	Buckingham Palace	2 July 1853 - Queen’s State Concert
07/07/53	DN	MC 07/07/53 TI 07/07/53 LN 09/07/53 ER 10/07/53	CR	‘Ne figli siam dell’onde’ from *I Gondolieri* [possibly ‘Gondelfahrer’]	Italo Gardoni, Lucchesi, Giovanni Belletti, Theodore Formes	Buckingham Palace	6 July 1853 - Queen’s Concert

20/07/53	DN		CR	'Lob der Tränen'	Pulszky and Lichtenstein (played on same instrument - 'the seraphine taking the vocal parts, and the piano the accompaniment')	residence of Sir Joshua and Lady Walmsley	19 July 1853
17/09/53	TI		CR	nothing specific –ballad	Karl Johann Formes		16 September 1853 - Gloucester musical festival - 'romantic ballad of Schubert, on which his fame as a lied-composer was first established'
07/10/53	LM		CR	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Madame Doria [possibly Clara (stage name)]		4 Oct 1853 - comments on performance of piece
12/10/53	MT		CR	'Erlkönig'	Madame Doria [possibly Clara (stage name)]		10 Oct 1853 - 'She sang the "Erl King," by Schubert, to which there is a fine piano forte accompaniment.'
05/11/53	MT		CR	nothing specific	Broughton Musical Society	Town Hall	1 November 1853
12/11/53	MT		CR	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)	Charles Hallé, Bernhard Molique, Alfred Piatti	Town Hall	10 Nov 1853 - author describes that Schubert has attained a high reputation for song writing, naming 'Erlkönig', 'Der Wanderer' and 'Ave Maria' as examples. Continues to argue that in instrumental works, Schubert ranks far below Beethoven and Mendelssohn. Author continues to go into more detail regarding the Grand Trio.

13/01/54	MC	TI 13/01/54	CR	'Ungeduld' and 'Erlkönig'	Band of the 1st Life Guards	Windsor	12 Jan 1854 - Queen's Concert
27/01/54	LM		CA	'Der Wanderer'	Cuzner		30 Jan 1854
10/02/54	LM		CR	nothing specific - arrangement for piano of a song	Arabella Goddard		7 Feb 1854
28/02/54 01/03/54 03/03/54	MC		CA	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)	Prosper Sainton and Cooper (violin), Lucas (violoncello), Ernst Pauer and Jackson (piano)		3 March 1854
04/03/54	DN		CR	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)	Prosper Sainton and Cooper (violin), Lucas (violoncello), Ernst Pauer and Jackson (piano)		3 March 1854
06/04/54	DN		CR	Stephen Heller's Caprice brillant, Op. 55, on Schubert's melody La Fontaine ['Wohin?']			**This piece is mentioned in numerous articles in *The Times* but is not recorded further in this table
22/04/54	IJ		CR	'On every tree that blossoms in the grove'	Thornton		18 April 1854

09/05/54	DN	MC 09/05/54 TI 09/05/54	CR	'Voici l'instant suprême' from L'Addio ['Adieu', see above], 'Ne figli siam dell'onde' from I Gondolieri [possibly 'Gondelfahrer']	Jeanne Sophie Charlotte Cruvelli ('Voici l'instant suprême'), Lucchesi, Reichard, Giorgio Ronconi, Theodore Formes ('Noi figli, siam' dell' onde')	Buckingham Palace	8 May 1854 - Queen's concert
26/05/54 29/05/54 01/06/54 02/06/54	DN	MC 27/05/54 29/05/54 31/05/54 02/06/54	LEC	nothing specific	Dr Altschul		2 June 1854: lecture on Goethe's Faust - Musical Illustrations
21/06/54	TI		CR	Filles de Marbre	Quadrille bands		20 June 1854
03/07/54	MC		CO	*Alfonso und Estrella*			M. Liszt preparing for the stage opera. Never been performed.
02/09/54	MT		CR	'Ave Maria' and 'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Madame Szezepanowska	residence of Madame Szezepanowska	29 Aug 1854 - 'The programme was excellent, comprising several fine classical compositions of established merit, amongst which were […] Schubert's "Ave Maria", and "The Wanderer".'

04/10/54 05/10/54	MT		CR	'Der Wanderer'	first bass from the Manchester Orpheus Society	Oldham	28 Sept 1854 - sung in the original German
21/12/54	DN		CO	'Serenade' ['Ständchen']	Prince George of Prussia		no date -anecdote of Vivier
14/03/55	MT		CR	'Guarda che bianca luna' - sung with violon obligato	Charles Guilmette	Town Hall	13 March 1855
21/03/55	DN		CR	nothing specific - song	Madame Pauer	Hanover Square Rooms	19 March 1855
27/03/55 29/03/55	MC		CA	Quartet in D major (D74)	four of the following: Bernhard Molique, Ernst, Goffie, Hill, Ernst Pauer, Lindsay Sloper		29 March 1855
31/03/55	MT		CR	nothing specific - a song	Hermine Rudersdorff	Concert Hall	28 March 1855
21/04/55	DN	MC 21/04/55 ER 22/04/55	CR	'Ne figli siam dell'onde' from *I Gondolieri* [possibly 'Gondelfahrer']	Italo Gardoni, Lucchesi, Willoughby Hunter Weiss, Theodore Formes	Buckingham Palace	20 April 1855 - Queen's concert
22/04/55	ER		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Thomas [could be one of many]	Music Hall	20 April 1855
21/05/55	DN		CR	nothing of Schuberts	Emilie Krall		'who made her first appearance in England with decided success, in two

							songs of Schubert and Mendelssohn.'
05/07/55	MC		CA	'Ungeduld', and 'Ich muss nun einmal singen'	Emilie Krall	St Martin's Hall	6 July 1855
09/07/55	TI		CR	German Songs, and 'Der Wanderer'	Emilie Krall (German Songs), and Bianchi ('Der Wanderer')	St Martin's Hall	3 July 1855
06/10/55	DN		RE	nothing specific - songs			'The German "Part Song" had of late come into much favour in this country, and has greatly encroached on the popularity of the English glee. The German chamber vocal harmony is worthy of all acceptation; but though we enjoy the part-songs of Mendelssohn, Spohr, Weber, Marschner, Kalliwode, and Schubert, we should regret to see them supersede the beautiful glees of our Webbes, Callootts, Stevenses, and Horsleys.'
08/10/55	DN		CR	Quartett for four trombones		The Crystal Palace	6 Oct 1855
28/12/55	LM		CR	nothing specific		St George's Hall	27 Dec 1855
01/01/56	LEM		CR	nothing specific - cornet	Koenig	St George's Hall	28 Dec 1855
17/01/56	LEM		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Winn	Leeds Music Hall	16 Jan 1856

08/03/56	EX		CR	Symphony in F [typo as there is no symphony in this key by Schubert, most likely Symphony in C] and *Rosamunde* - Overture		The Crystal Palace	every Saturday, this is what has been played of Schubert's
05/04/56	TI		CA	Symphony No. 9 in C major		The Crystal Palace	5 April 1856
08/04/56	DN	EX 12/04/56	CR	'Ave Maria'	Helen Lemmens-Sherrington		7 April 1856
11/04/56 12/04/56	TI		CA	Andante, Scherzo, and Finale from Symphony		The Crystal Palace	12 April 1856
12/04/56	LEM		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	W. H. Weiss, Wilheim Ganz (accompanist)	Exchange Assembly Rooms	5 April 1856
22/04/56	DN		CR	'Les Astres' ['Die Gestirne']	Helen Lemmens-Sherrington		21 April 1856
26/04/56	MT		CR	'Erlkönig'	Garcia [possibly Michelle Ferdinande Viardot (née Garcia) (singer), Charles Hallé	Concert Hall	23 April 1856

					(accompaniment)		
03/05/56	TI		CO				Commentary on Herr von der Osten, tenor singer of Germany: visiting England, well known for 'readings of Schubert's and Mendelssohn's eloquent ballads.'
24/05/56	JOJ		CA	'Der Wanderer'	W. H. Weiss	Oxford Theatre	27 May 1856
24/05/56	LN		CR	'Ständchen'	Rockitansky		16 May 1856
31/05/56	DN	MC 31/05/56	CR	'La Truite' ['Die Forelle'] for piano transcribed by Herr Otto Goldschmidt			30 May 1856 - Queen's concert
11/06/56	MC	TI 11/06/56	CR	'Der Kreuzzug'	Victor Freiherr von Rokitansky	Windsor	10 June 1856 - Queen's concert
17/06/56	MC	ER 22/06/56	CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Wagner (Mddle.), with orchestral accompaniment	Her Majesty's Theatre	16 June 1856 - MC: 'we believe in the original key of C sharp minor. This remarkable romance - a musical painting of the most extraordinary interest.'

23/06/56	TI		CA	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Michelle Ferdinande Viardot (née Garcia) (vocalist), Clara Schumann (accompanist)	Willis' Rooms	24 June 1856
25/06/56	DN	MC 26/06/56	CR	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Michelle Ferdinande Viardot (née Garcia) (vocalist), Clara Schumann (accompanist)	Willis' Rooms	24 June 1856
03/07/56	DN		CR	'Ave Maria'	Emilie Krall, John Thomas (harp accompanist)	Beethoven Rooms	1 July 1856
06/07/56	ER		CR	nothing specific - piano	Clara Schumann		30 June 1856
10/07/56	DN		CR	'Ave Maria'	Emilie Krall, John Thomas (harp accompanist)	Hanover Square Rooms	9 July 1856
17/07/56	DN	TI 17/07/56	CR	'Erlkönig'	Michelle Ferdinande Viardot (née Garcia)	Dudley Gallery, Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly	16 July 1856
26/07/56	JOJ		CA	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Uglow		31 July 1856

18/10/56 20/10/56	JB		CR	nothing specific - 2 melodies transcribed for violoncello	Paque (violoncello)		15 Oct 1856
27/10/56 29/10/56	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Karl Johann Formes	Exeter Hall	3 Nov 1856
17/11/56	DN	MC 17/11/56 TI 17/11/56	CR	Fantasia on 'Le Désir' ['Sehnsucht']	Papé (clarinet)	The Crystal Palace	15 Nov 1856 - DN: waltz originally attributed to Beethoven. Discrepancy due to 'story, current amongst musicians'. 'Schubert was complaining one day to Beethoven of the want of appreciation by the public of his best works: "Franz, mein lieber," said the old musician, "do not trouble yourself about the public. They will be mad after your works when you have become too famous to care for their applause. Give me one of your compositions, and I will show you of what stuff the public is made." Schubert took out of a drawer a waltz which had been completed sometime previous. Beethoven published it in his own name, under the title of "Sehnsucht" (Yearning) and it met with immense success. Whoever may have been the author, it is one of the most beautiful in its simplicity that has ever been written. As a theme for a fantasia, it contains profound depths of thought and feeling to be revealed and

							illustrated by the accomplished musician.'
22/11/56	MT		CR	Piano Trio in E flat major Op. 100 (D929)		Town Hall	20 Nov 1856 - 'Schubert, - elegant […] and occasionally brilliant […] - scarcely satisfies the ear that has been accustomed to the more impassioned originality of Mendelssohn.'
23/11/56	ER		CR	Fantasia on 'Le Désir' ['Sehnsucht']	Papé (clarinet)	The Crystal Palace	22 Nov 1856
04/12/56	DN		CA	Adagio from Symphony No. 6 in C major		The Crystal Palace	5 Dec 1856
06/01/57	LEM		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Lambert	Music Hall (in Settle)	28 Dec 1856
25/02/57	DM		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Allan Irving	Lecture Hall (in Derby)	2 March 1857
26/02/57	DN		CR	'Ave Maria' and 'Der Wanderer'	Helen Lemmens-Sherrington ('Ave Maria'), Winn ('Der Wanderer')	residence of Arabella Goddard	24 Feb 1857
04/03/57	DM		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Allan Irving	Lecture Hall (in Derby)	2 March 1857
06/04/57	TI		CR	'Lob der Tränen' transcribed for violoncello	Paque (violoncello)	St Martin's Hall	4 April 1857

07/04/57	DN	MC 07/04/57 TI 07/04/57 ER 12/04/57	CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Winn	Drury Lane Theatre	6 April 1857
10/04/57	TI		CA	nothing specific - cornet	Miller	The Crystal Palace	10 April 1857
11/04/57	TI		CA	'Ave Maria' and 'Der Wanderer'	Georgina Stabbach ('Ave Maria'), Rainaldi ('Der Wanderer')	St Martin's Hall	11 April 1857
11/04/57	MC		CR	nothing specific - cornet	Miller	The Crystal Palace	10 April 1857
16/05/57	MT		CR	nothing specific - song	Gugiliaimi	Concert Hall	14 May 1857
23/05/57 25/05/57 26/05/57 27/05/57	MC	ER 24/05/57 TI 25/05/57	CA	Night Song with accompaniment for four horns			28 May 1857
04/06/57	MC		CR	'Leise flehen meine Lieder durch die Nacht zu dir' ['Ständchen', Rellstab]	Euphrosyne Parepa-Rosa	Osborne	2 June 1857 - Queen's Concert
23/06/57	TI	LN 27/06/57	CR	'Ave Maria'	Madame Anichini	residence of Mr Wolley	22 June 1857

11/07/57	DN	MC 11/07/57	CA	Symphony No. 9 in C major			11 July 1857
31/07/57 01/08/57	MC	DN 31/07/57 TI 31/07/57 01/08/57	CA	*Rosamunde* - Overture		The Crystal Palace	1 Aug 1857
03/09/57	DN	MC 04/09/57 JB 05/09/57 07/09/57 ER 06/09/57 DM 09/09/57	CR - Vienna	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Joseph Staudigl	Imperial Lunatic Asylum of Vienna	18 Aug 1857 - for Emperor's birthday
18/02/58	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Borchardt (voice), Allan Irving (violin)	The Crystal Palace	20 Feb 1858
08/03/58	DQ		Prog	'Hymn to the Virgin'	Vinning, Lindsay Sloper (accompanist)	Crosby Hall	8 March 1858
26/03/58	TI		CR	'Chapel in the Wood'	Joseph Staudigl	Imperial Lunatic Asylum of Vienna	no date - given by Staudigl to his fellow patients in the State Lunatic Asylum in Austria
14/05/58	TI		CA	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)	Ernst Pauer, Joseph Joachim, and Alfred Piatti	Hanover Square Rooms	19 May 1858

17/05/58	TI		CR	‘Ständchen’ and ‘Who is Sylvia?’ [‘An Silvia’]	Adelaide Kemble	Buckingham Palace	15 May 1858 - Queen’s concert
10/06/58 21/06/58 25/06/58	TI		CA	Sonata in A minor, Op. 42 (D845)	Arabella Goddard	Willis’ Rooms	26 June 1858
19/06/58	MC		CR	an air and ‘La Serenade’ [‘Ständchen’]	Lucchesi (air) and Alfred Piatti (violin) (La Serenade)	Hanover Square Rooms	18 June 1858
22/06/58	TI		CA	Rondo Brillant in B minor, Op. 70 (D895)	Joseph Joachim, Adolf Pollitzer, H. Webb, Alfred Piatti, and Charles Hallé	Willis’ Rooms	24 June 1858
22/06/58 26/06/58	MC		CA	nothing specific-romance	Lucchesi	residence of Marchioness of Downshire	26 June 1858
28/06/58	TI		CR	nothing specific - a melody	Eugène Vivier (horn), Duchess of Hamilton (piano) (accompanist)		26 July 1858 - concert in France

28/06/58	TI		CR	Sonata in A minor, Op. 42 (D845)	Arabella Goddard		no date - ‘The most striking novelty in the concert, however, was the sonata of Schubert for pianoforte alone, a work of singular originality and merit, and the more interesting as proceeding from one who, though celebrated all over Europe as the greatest of the German song writers, is almost unknown, even to the majority of his compatriots, as an instrumental composer [...]. He had the misfortune to flourish during the period of Beethoven’s most marvellous productive activity; and the greatest part of his life was a witness of the incessant artistic triumphs of that extraordinary genius. Thus Schubert was like a tender plant, growing under the shadow of a giant oak. The world could not see him for Beethoven. But now that nearly 30 years have passed since they both died [...] now recognized as something more than a mere song-composer [...]. With regard to Beethoven, indeed, Schubert stands in something like the position of the best of the Elizabethan dramatist with regard to Shakespeare - only perhaps more nearly approaching Beethoven than any one of Shakespeare’s contemporaries.’

01/07/58	MC	DN 01/07/58 ER 04/07/58	CR	'Trockne Blumen'	Adelaide Kemble	Bridgewater House	30 June 1858
04/07/58	ER		CR	nothing specific - a sonata	Arabella Goddard	Willis' Rooms	3 July 1858 - 'the originality of Schubert [...] [was] most instinctively illustrated.'
16/07/58	MC		CR	melody from *Rosamunde*	Paque (violoncello)	Beethoven Rooms	14 July 1858
03/09/58	TI		CO				Commentary on Madame Viardot's singing: singer is at home with Schubert's romantic ballads
30/10/58	MT		CR	nothing specific - an arrangement by Liszt	Charles Hallé		28 Oct 1858
06/11/58	MT		CR	'Erlkönig'	Merot	Heston Hall	30 Oct or 6 Nov 1858
29/11/58	BDP		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']		Music Hall	29 Nov 1858
25/12/58	TI	DN 25/12/58	CA	'Ave Maria' - instrumental	Becker (cornet), Pape (clarinet), Svendsen (lute), Manns (violin), Gunter (piano), Sir August Manns (conductor)	The Crystal Palace	25 Dec 1858
26/02/59	MT		CR	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Michelle Ferdinande Viardot (née Garcia)	Free Trade Hall	19 Feb or 26 Feb 1859 - 'The words of Goethe are set to music in a remarkable manner by Schubert. The song so wedded assumes the dramatic form, and demands

							great histrionic power.’
19/03/59 21/03/59	DN		CA	Symphony No. 9 in C major	Musical Society of London		30 March 1859 - ‘performed, for the first time in England’
03/04/59	MW		CO	Symphony No. 9 in C major			James William Davison defends his previous criticism (02/04/59) on Symphony in C after Carl Klindworth defends it in a letter. Also discusses Mendelssohn and Schumann.
15/04/59	MC		CA	*Rosamunde* - Overture		The Crystal Palace	16 April 1859
18/04/59	MC		CR	*Rosamunde* - Overture		The Crystal Palace	16 April 1859
28/04/59	TI		CA	‘Erlkönig’ transcribed for piano by Franz Liszt	Antonia Speyer (pianoforte)	Willis’ Rooms	28 May 1859
09/05/59	DN	TI 09/05/59	CR	‘Erlkönig’	Julius Stockhausen (singer), Clara Schumann (accompanist)	Hanover Square Rooms	7 May 1859

09/05/59 11/05/59 12/05/59	TI	MC 11/05/59 16/15/59	CA	Quartet in A minor, Op. 29 (D804), ‘Ave Maria’, ‘Through the night’, Sonata in D major, Op. 53 (D850), ‘Der Wanderer’, ‘Erlkönig’, rondeau brillante for piano and violin		St James’ Hall	16 May 1859: only Schubert and Spohr performed
10/05/59	MC		CR	‘Frülingsglaube’	Julius Stockhausen	Hanover Square Rooms	7 May 1859
12/05/59	TI		CR	nothing of Schuberts			11 May 1859 - Discussing Beethoven’s 7th Symphony that was performed, ‘the excitement it raised fully compensated the somewhat exacting (and occasionally inconsiderate) amateurs and musicians who patronise these concerts for the “infliction” of Schubert’s unfortunate (but, in very many respects, romantic and beautiful) symphony at the preceding concert. The Musical Society of London, however, was perfectly justified in bringing forward the symphony of Schubert, which had a good right to be heard in London, and if not produced by the members of an institution professing a

							higher object than that of becoming merely an opposition to the Philharmonic Society, would probably not have been heard at all, except at the Crystal Palace.'
12/05/59 14/05/59 21/05/59 23/05/59 26/05/59 27/05/59 22/04/59** 25/04/59 **these two dates list 18 June not 17 June for concert date	TI		CA	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)	Sainton [either Prosper or Charlotte] (violin), Alfred Piatti (violoncello), Arabella Goddard (piano)	St James' Hall	27 May, 3 June, and 17 June 1859

18/05/59	TI		CR	Quartet in A minor, Op. 29 (D804), 'Ave Maria', 'Through the night', Sonata in D major, Op. 53 (D850), 'Der Wanderer', 'Erlkönig', rondeau brillante for pianoforte and violin		St James' Hall	16 May 1859: only Schubert and Spohr performed
21/05/59	MC		CR	'Ave Maria'	Bishop	Willis' Rooms	20 May 1859
28/05/59	MC		CR	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)	Arabella Goddard, Prosper Sainton, Doyle, and Alfred Piatti	St James' Hall	27 May 1859
29/05/59	ER		CR	nothing specific	de Vamheran (pianist)		25 May 1859
01/06/59	MC		CR	Caprice d'apres Schubert by Franz Liszt and A la Valse [possibly part of *Soirées de Vienne* (S427) by Liszt based on Schubert's	Caprice - unknown, A la Valse - Anton Rubinstein		31 May 1859

				music]			
11/06/59	TI		CR	'Ave Maria'	Paque (violoncello)	Hanover Square Rooms	10 June 1859
15/06/59	TI		CR	*Valse Caprice* [part of *Soirées de Vienne* (S427) by Liszt based on Schubert's music] and 2 ballads	Anton Rubinstein (*Valse Caprice*) and Julius Stockhausen (ballads)	Hanover Square Rooms	11 June 1859 - Regarding the *Valse Caprice*: 'in which poor Schubert is even worse used than when his symphony was hissed by some of the "quidnuncs" of the Musical Society of London.'
25/06/59	DN	TI 27/06/59	CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Sir Charles Santley	St James' Hall	27 June 1859
28/06/59	MC	RN 03/07/59	CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Sir Charles Santley	St James' Hall	27 June 1859
02/07/59	DN		CR	'Ave Maria'	Helen Lemmens-Sherrington	Willis' Rooms	30 June 1859
14/07/59	TI		CA	Crinoline Valse	a band	Highbury Barn	21 July 1859
09/10/59	ER		CR	'Der Wanderer'	Cooke		'The *Democrat* says that his rendering in that city of Schubert's famous Lied "Der Wanderer," was far superior in interpretation and execution to that of Carl Formes, last winter.' Reported by the New York Clipper, Sept. 17.

20/10/59 22/10/59	LEM		CR	nothing specific - for organ	William Thomas Best (organ)	Leeds Town Hall	18 Oct 1859
28/10/59	NC		CR	organ solo - Marche Solennelle (E flat minor)	William Thomas Best (organ)		26 Oct 1859
12/11/59	TI		CR	nothing specific - choruses			7 Nov 1859 - concert in Vienna
15/11/59	DN	TI 15/11/59 MC 15/11/59 RN 20/11/59 ER 20/11/59	CR	'Through the night' [sung in German]	Reichardt	St James' Hall	14 Nov 1859 - DN: 'Perhaps the most remarkable […] was Schubert's serenade.'
21/11/59	DN		CR	Rondo Brillant in B minor, Op. 70 (D895)			no date - concert in Germany
21/11/59	DN		CR	Symphony No. 9 in C major		The Crystal Palace	19 Nov 1859
26/11/59	TI		CO				Commentary on Spohr - Sacred Harmonic Society's season of 1859-60 pays tribute to Spohr. Discussing Spohr: 'genuine national *Lieder*, in which - take the "Bird and Maiden." and the "Song of the Bleacher," for examples - he frequently rivalled Schubert himself.'

29/11/59	TI		CR	nothing of Schuberts	Helen Lemmens-Sherrington		26 Nov 1859 - 'In the first part she sang one of the genial and delightful songs of Mendelssohn, who in this attractive branch of composition equalled and even at times surpassed Schubert himself ("lied-meister" - as, by general consent, he has been termed by his compatriots).'
10/12/59 17/12/59	BM		CA	*Valse Caprice in A minor* [part of *Soirées de Vienne* (S427) by Liszt based on Schubert's music]	Charles Hallé	Victoria Rooms	19 Dec 1859
18/12/59	ER		CR	'Ave Maria'	Helen Lemmens-Sherrington		14 Dec 1859
24/12/59	BM		CR	*Valse Caprice in A minor* [part of *Soirées de Vienne* (S427) by Liszt based on Schubert's music]	Charles Hallé	Victoria Rooms	19 Dec 1859
15/01/60	LN		CO	nothing specific - lieder			Commentary on Signora Zelia Trebelli. She was taught by Martel, who acquired celebrity in Germany for singing Schubert's Lieder.
04/02/60	TI		CA	'Hark, hark the lark'	Susanna Cole	St James' Hall	6 Feb 1860

				['Ständchen']			
14/02/60	LEM		CA	nothing specific - piano	Antonia Speyer (pianoforte)	Music Hall	18 Feb 1860
02/03/60	TI		CA	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Euphrosyne Parepa and S. Reeves	St James' Hall	5 March 1860
06/03/60	MC		CR	'Ave Maria'	Euphrosyne Parepa and S. Reeves	St James' Hall	5 March 1860 [discrepancy between the review and the announcement for the same concert]
21/03/60 24/03/60	TI	DN 22/03/60	CA	nothing specific - song	Aguilar, Lindo, and Henry Holmes		24 March 1860
11/04/60 14/04/60	TI		CA	nothing specific - song	Aguilar, Lindo, Leopold Jansa, and Lidel		14 April 1860
19/04/60	TI		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Eibenschutz [possibly Albert]	St James' Hall	18 April 1860
10/05/60	DN	ER 10/05/60 MC 10/05/60	CR	'Tu sei il pensier' from L'Aspettazione [possibly 'Die Erwartung']	Antonio Giuglini	Buckingham Palace	9 May 1860 - Queen's concert
15/05/60	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Allan Irving	St James' Hall	15 May 1860
19/05/60	TI		CA	Piano Trio in E flat major Op. 100 (D929)			29 May 1860

24/05/60 26/05/60	TI		CA	Impromptu in B flat major, No. 3, Op. 142 (D935)	Charles Hallé	residence of Charles Hallé	31 May 1860
03/06/60	ER		CR	nothing specific - 2 pieces	Emam Busby (pianist)		28 May 1860
05/06/60	MC		CR	nothing of Schuberts	Lindo		4 June 1860 - 'In a wood on a windy day' [composer unknown] - 'a spirited composition, something after the manner of Schubert'
10/06/60	ER		CR	'Ungeduld' and 'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Jenny Meyer ('Ungeduld') and Herramans ('Der Wanderer')		4 June 1860
17/06/60	ER		CR	'Sois toujours mes seuls amours' ['Sei mir gegrüsst']	Depret		12 June 1860
22/06/60	TI		CR	nothing specific - 'well-known' romance - arranged for two voices	Louisa Pyne , Charlotte Sainton-Dolby (singers), Adolf Pollitzer (violin)		21 June 1860 - 'more effective in its original form'
23/06/60	LN		CR	'La douce paix' from *L'Attente* [possibly 'Du bist die Ruh']	Conte di Candia Mario	Apsley House	20 June 1860 - Queen's Concert
28/06/60 30/06/60	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Sir Charles Santley	St James' Hall	2 July 1860

02/07/60							
03/07/60 06/07/60	TI		CA	'Les Adieux', arr. for two voices and violin by Prince G. Galitzin ['Adieu'; see above]	Euphrosyne Parepa, Charlotte Sainton-Dolby (singers), Adolf Pollitzer (violin)	St James' Hall	6 July 1860
04/07/60	TI		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Sir Charles Santley	St James' Hall	2 July 1860
15/07/60	ER		CR	nothing specific	Paque		9 July 1860
22/07/60	ER		CR	a serenade on violoncello	Rene Douay	Messrs. Collard's Concert Rooms	19 July 1860
15/09/60	MT	ER 16/09/60	CR	'Erlkönig'	Michelle Ferdinande Viardot (née Garcia), Charles Hallé (accompaniment)		15 Sept 1860
12/11/60	MC		CR	Marche Militaire, Op. 51 (D733) arr. for full orchestra by August Manns		The Crystal Palace	10 Nov 1860

22/12/60	MT		CO				‘A biography of Franz Schubert (the contemporary of Beethoven), known chiefly in England by his vocal compositions, “The Erl-King,” “The Praise of Tears,” and other songs, has recently been published in Vienna. It is written by Dr Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn, and is said to contain much highly interesting matter.’
02/01/61 23/01/61 30/01/61 12/02/61 16/02/61 22/02/61	TI		CA	Symphony No. 9 in C major	New Philharmonic Orchestra	St James’ Hall	11 March 1861, Public Rehearsal on 9 March 1861
11/01/61 14/01/61	TI		CA	Quartet in D minor (D810)	Henry Vieuxtemps, Ries [whole family of musicians], Schreurs, Alfred Piatti	St James’ Hall	14 Jan 1861

15/01/61	DN	MC 15/01/61 TI 15/01/61 LN 19/01/61 ER 20/01/61	CR	Quartet in D minor (D810)	Henry Vieuxtemps, Ries [whole family of musicians], Schreurs, Alfred Piatti	St James' Hall	14 Jan 1861 - DN: 'Of Schubert's genius his beautiful songs and ballads leave no doubt; but it appears to us that he has been less happy when he has undertaken works […] symphonies or quartets. This quartet in particular is (especially in the principal movement) a palpable imitation of Beethoven's latest and least imitable style; and Schubert has only been obscure and incoherent, without Beethoven's wonderful grasp of thought.' MC: Played at same concert as Beethoven's Sonata in C minor. Author writes, 'The former [Schubert's quartet] is an unequal work, with here and there glimpses of greatness, and not unfrequently exhibiting beauties of no common order.' TI: 'Schubert's quartets, like his orchestral writings, are only now beginning to be known, and the triumph achieved last night by the one in d minor (generally recognized as the "posthumous").' ER: 'It is somewhat elaborate as a composition, and requires first-rate performers to do it justice.'

22/01/61	LEM		CR	*Valse Caprice in A minor* [part of *Soirées de Vienne* (S427) by Liszt based on Schubert's music]	Charles Hallé		21 Jan 1861
01/02/61	BMM		CR	Quartet in D minor (D810)			no date
05/02/61	MC	TI 05/02/61	CA	Marche Militaire		The Crystal Palace	5 Feb 1861
13/02/61	DN	TI 13/02/61	CA	'Ave Maria' - solo for cornet	Levy	The Crystal Palace	13 Feb 1861
20/02/61	DN	MC 20/02/61	CA	*Rosamunde* - Overture		The Crystal Palace	20 Feb 1861
26/02/61	TI		CA	Marche Militaire, Op. 51 (D733)			26 Feb 1861
27/02/61	TI		CA	Marche Militaire, Op. 51 (D733)			27 Feb 1861
07/03/61	TI		CA	'Ave Maria' - solo for cornet	Levy		7 March 1861
07/03/61	MC		CA	Symphony No. 9 in C major			7 March 1861
09/03/61	EX		CR	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Palmer	Hanover Square Rooms	5 March 1861 - 'a composition which in its wildness and grandeur is a fit companion to Franck's trio [in the same programme].'

11/03/61	TI		CO				Commentary on Mr Wallace's 'Amber Witch': 'the accompaniment is as fanciful and as carefully worked out as in any one of those delicate chamber-songs, the most genuine legacies of Schubert's art, the spirit of which is as vividly enforced through the keys of the instrument as through the voice of the singer.'
12/03/61	DN	TI 12/03/61 MC 13/03/61 LN 16/03/61 BLL 17/03/61 ER 17/03/61	CR	Symphony No. 9 in C major	New Philharmonic Orchestra	St James' Hall	11 March 1861 - TI: author gives his reasons why this piece wasn't a success at the concert of the Musical Society of London. Of the piece, he writes that it is 'clogged with detail, and so crowded with ideas that the mind is at a loss to grasp them all […]. Its beauties, moreover, are as genuine as they are numerous [...] flattering applause [...] from the audience.' MC: commentary on history of performance of the symphony - recounts 1858 performance, and Mendelssohn's rehearsal but no performance of piece. Author writes, 'all the elements of a great work, excepting form, are contained' in the symphony. LN: 'was introduced last season at the concerts of the Musical Society, where it failed to make an impression

							commensurate with its deserts. On Monday evening, however, this marvellous work was justly appreciated, and it produced almost as great a success as the quartet of the same composer recently obtained at the "Monday Popular Concerts."' BLL: 'beautiful and original' 'had the fullest justice done to it. This singular production abounds in so many phases of piquant expression and elaborate harmonies, that it requires to be heard many times for a thorough appreciation of the genius of its composer.'
18/03/61	TI	DN 18/03/61	CA	Fantasy in C major, Op. 159 (D934)	Karl Klindworth, Henry Blagrove, and Hugo Daubert	Hanover Square Rooms	19 March 1861
23/03/61	MT		CO	*Der häusliche Krieg*			'An operetta, by Schubert, *Der häusliche Krieg* (Household War), composed in the year 1819, was introduced for the first time at a concert given on the first instant. The correspondent of the *Musical World* pronounces this production so long neglected of a rarely gifted musician "a musical gem in the widest acceptation of the word; original, fresh characteristic, most dramatically worked out, and so overflowing with melody, that we must go back as far as Mozart to find anything

							like it.”’
02/04/61 04/04/61 05/04/61 06/04/61 08/04/61	TI		CA	Impromptu in B flat major, No. 3, Op. 142 (D935) and ‘Ave Maria’	Charles Hallé (Impromptu in B flat) and Banks (‘Ave Maria’)	St James’ Hall	8 April 1861
09/04/61	TI	BLL 14/04/61	CR	Impromptu in B flat major, No. 3, Op. 142 (D935) and ‘Ave Maria’	Charles Hallé (Impromptu in B flat) and Banks (‘Ave Maria’)	St James’ Hall	8 April 1861
27/04/61	MT		CA	‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	Cozzelli	Free Trade Hall	4 May 1861
01/05/61	BMM		CO	nothing specific - ballads			Commentary on the Monday Popular Concerts series
08/05/61 10/05/61 11/05/61 13/05/61	TI		CA	As o’er the Alps he ranges and Quartet in A minor, Op. 29 (D804)	Sir Charles Santley (song), Strauss, Ries [whole family of musicians], H. Webb, and Alfred Piatti (quartet)	St James’ Hall	13 May 1861
09/05/61	TI		CR	nothing of Schuberts	Musical Society of London		8 May 1861 - Schumann’s Symphony (No. 1) in B Flat, ‘came better off than Schubert last year, although the Symphony in C of the latter [Schubert] is a mine of wealth compared with the Symphony in B flat of the former [Schumann].’

09/05/61	DN	LWN 12/05/61 EX 25/05/61	RE	nothing specific - songs	Frederic Penna	Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly	7 May 1861: Review of concert/lecture entitled: The Highways and Byways of Song
13/05/61	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Karl Johann Formes	Exeter Hall	20 May 1861
19/05/61	BLL	MC 20/05/61	CR	Quartet in A minor Op. 29 (D804)	Strauss, H. Webb, Ries [whole family of musicians], and Alfred Piatti		13 May 1861
21/05/61	DN	TI 22/05/61	CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Karl Johann Formes	Exeter Hall	20 May 1861
02/06/61	ER		CR	'Ave Maria'	Marian Moss	residence of Prosper Sainton	29 May 1861
04/06/61	TI		CA	'Der Wanderer'	Karl Johann Formes	St James' Hall	5 June 1861
06/06/61	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Karl Johann Formes	St James' Hall	7 June 1861
16/06/61	ER		CR	'Der Wanderer'	Dalle Aste	residence of Prosper Sainton	12 June 1861
20/06/61	TI		CA	'Gretchen am Spinnrade'	Helen McLeod	St James' Hall	24 June 1861
21/06/61	TI		CA	'Ave Maria'	Marian Moss	St James' Hall	21 June 1861
24/06/61	TI		CA	'L'Attente' ['Du bist die Ruh']	Tennant	St James' Hall	28 June 1861

27/06/61	TI		CA	'Le Secret' ['Geheimes'] and 'When o'er the Alps'	Banks ('Le Secret'), Sir Charles Santley ('When o'er the Alps')	St James' Hall	1 July 1861
02/07/61	MC	TI 02/07/61	CR	'Le Secret' ['Geheimes'] and 'When o'er the Alps'	Banks ('Le Secret'), Sir Charles Santley ('When o'er the Alps')	St James' Hall	1 July 1861 - re: 'The Letter' - 'pretty song […] which the French have metamorphosed into "Le Secret"'
07/07/61	ER		CR	'L'Attente' ['Du bist die Ruh']	Tennant		no date
01/08/61	MPE		story	'Adieu' [see above]			
10/08/61	MC		CR	Marche Militaire, Op. 51 (D733)		The Crystal Palace	9 Aug 1861
11/09/61	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Karl Johann Formes	Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	11 Sept 1861
14/09/61	MC		CR	nothing of Schuberts			13 Sept 1861 - Weber's Symphony No. 1 in C - 'The symphony is seldom heard in public. It is worth a hearing, nevertheless, and should not be overlooked altogether by societies which patronise Schubert and Schumann.'
01/10/61	MPE		Letter to the editor	nothing specific - piano			

11/10/61	NC	MT 12/11/61	CO	*The Domestic War [Der häusliche Krieg]*			Commentary on posthumous opera: recently produced at Frankfort - NC and MT: 'It is said to possess much beautiful music.'
29/10/61	TI		CO				Commentary on Mr Howard Glover's opera 'The Marriage of Georgette': 'Mr Glover has apparently aimed at producing a sort of romance in the manner of Schubert, the undisputed King of romance composers; and if so he has succeeded without, let it be understood, being indebted to Schubert for a solitary phrase, or even the fragment of a phrase.'
04/11/61 06/11/61	DN		CR	nothing specific - March	Her Majesty's private band	Windsor	2 Nov 1861 - Queen's concert
07/11/61	TI		CA	nothing specific			CA for new Monday Popular Concert series to begin
11/11/61	TI	LN 16/11/61	CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Karl Johann Formes	The Crystal Palace	9 Nov 1861
13/11/61	LM		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Allan Irving		12 Nov 1861
19/11/61	TI		CO	nothing specific			Commentary on The Monday Popular Concert series
19/11/61	DN	EX 23/11/61	CR				discusses various concerts and their composers, as organised by the Monday Popular Concerts
02/12/61	TI		CA	'Die Junge Nonne'	Florence Lancia	St James' Hall	2 Dec 1861

14/12/61	TI		CA	'The mighty trees are bending' ['Die junge Nonne']	Florence Lancia	St James' Hall	16 Dec 1861
22/12/61	ER		CR	'The mighty trees are bending' ['Die junge Nonne']	Florence Lancia	St James' Hall	16 Dec 1861 - was actually given on 17 December - postponed due to death of Prince Consort on previous day.
07/01/62 08/01/62	TI		CA	'He is gone to the mountain' ['Coronach']	Fosbroke, M.A. Walsh, and Clara West (members of Henry Leslie's Choir)	Hanover Square Rooms	8 Jan 1862
09/01/62	DN	BLL 12/01/62 TI 09/01/62	CR	'He is gone to the mountain' ['Coronach']	Fosbroke, M.A. Walsh, and Clara West (members of Henry Leslie's Choir)	Hanover Square Rooms	8 Jan 1862
25/01/62	BM		CA	'Jessamine'	Bristol & Goucestershire Artillery Corps.	Broadmead Rooms	27 Jan 1862
03/02/62	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	W. H. Weiss	St James' Hall	3 Feb 1862

03/02/62	MC	TI 03/02/62	CR	Fantasy in C major, Op. 15 (D760)	Ernst Pauer	Willis' Rooms	1 Feb 1862 - MC: Pauer wrote in preface, 'when we have named Clements, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Hummel, and their worthier successors, such as Weber, Schubert, Mendelssohn, and Schumann, we arrive at a period of decadence.' Author writes of the concert pieces, 'of these, by far the most interesting and the best was Schubert's Fantasia. Prolix to a fault, it contained such elegant and beautiful ideas that the attention of the audience was riveted throughout.' TI: Herr Ernst Pauer - series to trace and illustrate by example the history and progress of pianoforte music from the earliest periods up to the present day. 'Rather questionable merit [...]. A more rambling and incoherent piece has seldom perplexed the fingers of a "virtuoso" or tormented the ears of his audience [...].If it had been the intention of the talented pianist to prove that Schubert, though a genius, was at times a bad composer, he would have succeeded triumphantly.'
03/02/62 06/02/62	LM		CA	Impromptu in B flat major, No. 3, Op. 142 (D935)	Charles Hallé		7 Feb and 22 Feb 1862

04/02/62	DN	BLL 09/02/62 TI 18/02/62	CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	W. H. Weiss	St James' Hall	3 Feb 1862 - TI: Commentary on The Monday Popular Concert series
17/02/62	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	W. H. Weiss	St James' Hall	18 Feb 1862
22/02/62	BDP		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Allan Irving		20 Feb 1862
28/02/62	DN		CO	*Alfonso und Estrella*			Discusses the possibility of reviving *Alfonso und Estrella* in Vienna due to the 'interest excited by the disinterment of his *Der hausliche Krieg*'.
07/03/62	TI		CA	'L'eloge des larmes' ['Lob der Tränen']	Tennant	St James' Hall	10 March 1862
17/03/62	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	W. H. Weiss	St James' Hall	17 March 1862
19/03/62	MC	LN 22/03/62	CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	W. H. Weiss	St James' Hall	17 March 1862
25/03/62	TI		CO	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	W. H. Weiss		Commentary on The Monday Popular Concert series
25/03/62	TI		CA	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)	Karl Klindworth, Henry Blagrove, Deichmann, Richard Blagrove, and Hugo Daubert	Hanover Square Rooms	25 March 1862
26/03/62	TI		CA	nothing specific		Architectural Exhibition	26 March 1862

29/03/62	TI		CA	'The Praise of Tears' ['Lob der Tränen']	Tennant	St James' Hall	31 March 1862
30/03/62	ER		CR	nothing specific		Architectural Exhibition	26 March 1862
01/04/62	DN	LN 05/04/62	CR	'The Praise of Tears' ['Lob der Tränen']	Tennant	St James' Hall	31 March 1862
03/04/62	TI		CO				Commentary on Her Majesty's Theatre and Mademoiselle Trebelli: a pupil of M. Wartel 'who sings Schubert's music to French words'
05/04/62	TI		CA	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)	Karl Klindworth, Henry Blagrove, Deichmann, Richard Blagrove, and Hugo Daubert	Hanover Square Rooms	5 April 1862
11/04/62 12/04/62	TI		CA	'Du bist die Ruh'	Elizabeth Robertine Henderson	The Crystal Palace	12 April 1862
12/04/62	MT		CO	'Die Schöne Müllerin'	Julius Stockhausen		no date of concert - reported in the Athenaeum
21/04/62	TI		CA	'The Winter's Walk' ['Winterreise']	Florence Lancia	St James' Hall	21 April 1862
22/04/62	TI		CR	'The Winter's Walk' ['Winterreise']	Florence Lancia	St James' Hall	21 April 1862 - 'one of the most expressive *lieder* of Schubert'

23/04/62	TI		CA	‘Gretchen am Spinnrade’ and ‘Barcarolle’ [‘Gondelfahrer’]	Auguste Mehlhom	St James’ Hall	23 April 1862
27/04/62	ER		CR	‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	Karl Johann Formes	St James’ Hall	23 April 1862
03/05/62	TI		CA	‘Der Wanderer’	Karl Johann Formes	The Crystal Palace	3 May 1862
05/05/62	TI		CA	‘L’Addio’	Sir Charles Santley	St James’ Hall	5 May 1862
10/05/62	TI		CA	‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	Karl Johann Formes		10 May 1862
11/05/62	ER		CR	‘L’Addio’	Sir Charles Santley	St James’ Hall	5 May 1862
16/05/62	TI		CA	Trio for piano, violin, and violoncello	Ernst Pauer, Joseph Joachim, and Alfred Piatti	St James’ Hall	19 May 1862
18/05/62	ER		CR	‘Der Wanderer’	Karl Johann Formes	St James’ Hall	17 May 1862
21/05/62	DN		CR	Rondo Brillant in B minor, Op. 70 (D895)	Thomas [could be one of many] and Joseph Joachim	Willis’ Rooms	19 May 1862
25/05/62	BLL		CR	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)			19 May 1862 - ‘amongst the most admired instrumental pieces played here on Monday last’
29/05/62	BLL		CR	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)	Charles Hallé, Ferdinand Laub, and Davidoff		23 June 1862 - ‘one of the latest and most interesting works of the master’

03/06/62	TI		CR	nothing specific	Elvira Behrens	Hanover Square Rooms	2 June 1862
18/06/62	DN	LN 21/06/62 EX 21/06/62 BLL 22/06/62 ER 22/06/62	CR	'The Mighty Tree's Bend' ['Die junge Nonne'] - titles given in both languages	Florence Lancia		16 June 1862
21/06/62	LN		CR	'Lob der Tränen'	Paque		20 June 1862
21/06/62	TI		CA	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)	Charles Hallé, Ferdinand Laub, and Alfred Piatti	St James' Hall	23 June 1862
27/06/62	TI		CA	'L'éloge des larmes' ['Lob der Tränen'] on the French horn	Eugène Vivier (French horn)		30 June 1862
29/06/62	BLL		CR	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)	Charles Hallé, Ferdinand Laub, and Alfred Piatti	St James' Hall	23 June 1862
04/07/62	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	W. H. Weiss	St James' Hall	7 July 1862
05/07/62	JB		CR	'Dis Le moi' ['Die vier Weltalter']	Zélia Trebelli-Bettini and Alessandro Bettini		30 June 1862

08/07/62	TI	LN 12/07/62	CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	W. H. Weiss	St James' Hall	7 July 1862
02/08/62	LN		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	W. H. Weiss		28 July 1862
03/08/62	ER		CO	'Salve Regina'	Harmonic Society of Cologne		no date - concert in Germany
12/09/62	TI		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	W. H. Weiss		11 Sept 1862 [?]- Gloucester Musical Festival
13/09/62	LEM		CA	'Ave Maria' - for organ	Dr William Spark (organ)	Town Hall	no concert 13 Sept 1862, instead on 16 Sept 1862
08/10/62	TI		CA				13 Oct 1862 - only mentions composers that have been done in the last Monday Popular Concerts
13/10/62	TI		CA	'Who is Sylvia?' ['An Silvia'] and 'Hark, hark the lark' ['Ständchen']	Banks	St James' Hall	13 Oct 1862
14/10/62	TI	DN 14/10/62	CR	'Who is Sylvia?' ['An Silvia'] and 'Hark, hark the lark' ['Ständchen']	Banks	St James' Hall	13 Oct 1862
21/10/62	TI		CR	nothing of Schuberts			20 Oct 1862 - Miss Banks more at home in romances of Glinka than in the 'well known barcarolle of Schubert.'
22/10/62	TEF		CR	'Ave Maria' - for organ	Dr William Spark (organ)	Town Hall	no date, sometime previous week, in Leeds

25/10/62	LEM		CA	'Ave Maria' - for organ	Dr William Spark (organ)	Town Hall	28 Oct 1862
31/10/62	NC	PG 01/11/62 MT 22/11/62	CO				Commentary on Schubert's monument in Vienna: NC and PG: 'A lady from Odessa, finding the monument of Schubert sadly neglected at Vienna, has had it repaired at her cost, and allocated an annual sum sufficient to avert any further decay.' MT: correspondent of the Athenaeum corrects statement about monument - it doesn't need care. The lady, actually from Vienna, placed flowers at grave. Also tells readers that there are new songs and orchestra pieces being published.
07/11/62 08/11/62	TI		CA	'Torrents, whose waves break into foam'	Martin	St James' Hall	10 Nov 1862
12/11/62	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Lawler	St James' Hall	13 Nov 1862
22/11/62	TI		CA	'Ungeduld'	Elvira Behrens	The Crystal Palace	22 Nov 1862
26/11/62	LM		CR	'La Serenade' - solo violoncello ['Ständchen']	Paque (violoncello)		25 Nov 1862
02/12/62	TI		CR	nothing of Schuberts			1 Dec 1862 - describes Glinka as the Russian Schubert rather than the Russian Mozart

02/12/62	TI		CA	Quartet in D minor (D810)	Joseph Joachim and others	St James' Hall	8 Dec 1862
08/12/62	DN		CR	'Who is Sylvia?' ['An Silvia'] and 'Hark, hark the lark' ['Ständchen']	Banks	St James' Hall	6 Dec 1862
09/12/62	DN	TI 09/12/62	CR	Quartet in D minor (D810)	Joseph Joachim and others	St James' Hall	8 Dec 1862 - DN: 'a very clever composition, but not of the same grade with the master works of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven' TI: 'the most imaginative and admirable, perhaps, of all his instrumental compositions'
13/12/62	EX		CO	'The Rainy Day', words by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, music by Cecilia			'Well played and sung, Cecilia's *Rainy Day* is a song that would sustain the credit even of Schubert, the composer to whose genius that of Cecilia seems most akin.'
13/12/62	DN	TI 13/12/62	CA	2 Marches Caractéristiques, Op. 121 (D968b, formerly 886)		The Crystal Palace	13 Dec 1862
14/12/62	BLL		CR	Quartet in D minor (D810)	Joseph Joachim, Alfred Piatti, Ries [whole musical family] and H. Webb		8 Dec 1862

20/12/62	MT		CO				Commentary on Schubert's life
30/12/62	LEM		CA	'Ave Maria' - for organ	Dr William Spark (organ)	Town Hall	30 Dec 1862
31/12/62	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	W. H. Weiss	St James' Hall	3 Jan 1863
09/01/63	HP		CR	'Adieu' [see above]			2 Jan 1863
17/01/63 19/01/63	TI		CA	Quintet in C major, Op. 163 (D956)	Sainton, Ries [whole family of musicians], H. Webb, Paque, and Alfred Piatti	St James' Hall	19 Jan 1863
20/01/63	TI	BLL 25/01/63	CR	Quintet in C major, Op. 163 (D956)	Sainton, Ries [whole family of musicians], H. Webb, Paque, and Alfred Piatti	St James' Hall	19 Jan 1863 - TI: compares Schumann and Schubert, 'Schubert was born a genius, a musical poet in the highest sense, and a prodigal inventor to boot; whereas Schumann was simply a composer by force of strong will and arduous toil [...]. To place the quintet of Schubert in the same programme as the quintet of Schumann [Quintet in E flat, Op. 44] was even a greater piece of cruelty towards the latter than if it had been a quintet of Mozart, Beethoven, or Mendelssohn.' BLL: 'The beautiful musical thoughts, so to speak, contained in the quintet seem inexhaustible, the changed in it, the

							alternations from gay to grave, and the richness of the various melodies, quite entranced its hearers, who never betrayed the least weariness, although it lasted for three-quarters of an hour. We hope that so fine a work as this proves to be may be heard again at these classical concerts.'
23/01/63	BDP		CR	solo - violoncello by Servais containing melody of 'Le Désir'	Hugo Daubert (violoncello)		22 Jan 1863
31/01/63	TI		CA	'Le Berger sur la Montagne (Mountain Shepherd)'	Florence Lancia and Henry Lazarus (clarinet)	St James' Hall	2 Feb 1863
03/02/63	DN	TI 03/02/63 BLL 08/02/63 EX 14/02/63	CR	'Le Berger sur la Montagne (Mountain Shepherd)'	Florence Lancia and Henry Lazarus (clarinet)	St James' Hall	2 Feb 1863
11/02/63	BDP		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Allan Irving		10 Feb 1863 - 'impassioned and poetical'
21/02/63	LM		CA	Grandes Marches, Op. 40 (D819)	William Thomas Best (organ)	St George's Hall	21 Feb 1863
28/02/63	TI		CA	'Le Oiel est pur'	Corbari	St James' Hall	2 March 1863

02/03/63							
01/03/63	ER		CR	'Le Berger sur la Montagne (Mountain Shepherd)'	Florence Lancia and Henry Lazarus (clarinet)		23 Feb 1863
07/03/63	HTS		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Burn		3 March 1863
26/03/63 27/03/63	TI		CA	nothing specific - a lied	Theresa Ellinger	St James' Hall	27 March 1863
29/03/63	ER		CR	'A Winter's Walk' ['Winterreise']	Elizabeth Robertine Henderson		23 March 1863
09/04/63	BDP	LN: 11/04/63 SG 25/04/63	News	oratorio - 'Lazarus'			discovery of oratorio. BDP: 'inedited' 'everybody is astonished at the grand character and the beauties of the work.' LN: 'A letter from Vienna states that much excitement has been created there among the musical public in consequence of the first performance of an oratorio entitled "Lazarus," and composed by Schubert. It is a work not only inedited, but unknown up to the present day, and everybody is astonished at the grand character and beauties of the work.'

10/04/63	BDP		CR	Sonata in C minor (D958)	Lunn	King Edward's School	9 April 1863 - 'a posthumous work of that romantic and fanciful composer, would have been a treat of no light order to a classic concert audience, [...] but before an assemblage composed chiefly of the friends and parents of the pupils who were the ostensible attraction of the evening it was [...] out of place.'
26/04/63	ER		CR	'Ave Maria'		Willis' Rooms	20 April 1863
26/04/63	ER		CA	*Valse Caprice in A minor* [part of *Soirées de Vienne* (S427) by Liszt based on Schubert's music]	Charles Hallé		29 April 1863
30/04/63	TI		CA	nothing specific as of yet	Charles Hallé		series of 8 concerts: 15 May, 22 May, 29 May, 5 June, 12 June, 19 June, 26 June, 3 July (Schubert's music is played in most of these)
03/05/63	ER		CR	'Ungeduld'	Lang		no date - concert in Amsterdam
03/05/63	BLL		CR	*Valse Caprice in A minor* [part of *Soirées de Vienne* (S427) by Liszt based on Schubert's music]	Charles Hallé		29 April 1863

04/05/63	TI		CR	Impromptu in B flat major, No. 3, Op. 142 (D935) and Franz Liszt's 'Transcription of Ave Maria'	Ernst Pauer		no date
13/05/63	TI		CA	Moments Musicaux in A Flat major and F minor, Op. 94 (D780)	Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	15 May - re-announces the series of 8 concerts and gives programme of first concert
17/05/63	ER		CR	Moments Musicaux in A Flat major and F minor, Op. 94 (D780)	Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	15 May 1863
19/05/63 20/05/63	DN		CA	Impromptu in B flat major, No. 3, Op. 142 (D935)	Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	22 May 1863
23/05/63	TI	ER 24/05/63	CR	Impromptu in B flat major, No. 3, Op. 142 (D935)	Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	22 May 1863
04/06/63 05/06/63	TI		CA	nothing specific	Charles Hallé		5 June 1863

07/06/63	ER		CR	Moment Musical in C major, No. 1, Op. 94 (D780) and one of his six Impromptus, Op. 142 (D935)	Ernst Pauer	Willis' Rooms	1 June 1863
16/06/63	DN	LN 20/06/63	CR	'Sei mir gegrüsst' and 'Die Post'	Sigismond Thalberg	Hanover Square Rooms	15 June 1863
17/06/63 18/06/63	TI		CA	Sonata in B flat major (D960)	Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	19 June 1863
24/06/63 26/06/63 (with 2 articles, worded differently, advertising same concert)	TI		CA	nothing specific	Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	25 June 1863
02/07/63	DN		CR	nothing specific - songs	Reichardt	Hanover Square Rooms	1 July 1863
04/07/63	DN		CR	Sonata in B flat major (D960)	Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	3 July 1863
06/07/63	TI		CA	'Hark, hark the lark' ['Ständchen']	Banks	St James' Hall	6 July 1863

07/07/63	DN	TI 07/07/63	CR	'Hark, hark the lark' ['Ständchen']	Banks	St James' Hall	6 July 1863
21/08/63	TI		CR	nothing of Schuberts			20 Aug 1863 - summarizes story of Mendelssohn conducting Schubert's Symphony in C
17/09/63	LEM		CR	'Dis le moi' ['Die vier Weltalter']	Zélia Trebelli-Bettini and Alessandro Bettini		15 Sept 1863
05/10/63	LEM		CR	'Ave Maria'	Dr William Spark (organ)	Town Hall	3 Oct 1863
17/10/63 24/10/63	JOJ		CA	nothing specific	Reinagle (piano)	Music Room	series of 6 concerts to be given. The first on 30 Oct 1863. The 2nd on 6 Nov (advertised, 31 Oct), the 3rd on 13 Nov (advertised, 7 Nov), 4th on 20 Nov (advertised, 14 Nov), 5th on 27 Nov (advertised, 21 Nov), 6th on 4 Dec (advertised, 28 Nov).
19/10/63	TI		CR	nothing of Schuberts			17 Oct 1863 - performed the opera *The Desert Flower*, author compares a song Mr Harrison sang (no name) to Schubert's "Dein ist mein Herz" with which it has a 'faint reminiscence'.

20/10/63	LM		CA	*Valse Caprice in A minor* [part of *Soirées de Vienne* (S427) by Liszt based on Schubert's music]	Charles Hallé		20 Oct 1863
20/10/63	DN	RN 25/10/63 LWN 25/10/63	News				DN, RN and LWN: 'The Musical Society of Vienna having resolved that the mortal remains of Beethoven and of Schubert should be placed in more suitable vaults, the two bodies were exhumed on the 13th in the presence of a crowd of medical and artistic notabilities. The skeleton of Beethoven was almost perfect, the bone of the temples alone being wanting. The remains of Schubert had suffered much, but the head and the hair were intact. The bodies of the two celebrated composers were photographed (!) upon being reburied.'
21/10/63	LM		CR	*Valse Caprice in A minor* [part of *Soirées de Vienne* (S427) by Liszt based on Schubert's music]	Charles Hallé		20 Oct 1863

21/10/63	LM	LWN 25/10/63 RN 25/10/63 TEF 04/11/63	News				LM: 'The bones of Schubert and Beethoven have been exhumed, after an interment of 30 years, by a musical society of Vienna, who were desirous of plaing them in metal sarcophagi to insure their longer preservation. Beethoven's head was found minus his ears, which had been cut off after death to discover the cause of his deafness, and were subsequently stolen from the dissecting surgeon. Both bodies were photographed.'
26/10/63	TI		CA	nothing specific			new season of Monday Popular Concerts to begin on 2 November - article reviews past seasons
28/10/63 30/10/63 31/10/63	TI		CA	'As o'er the Alps he Ranges' ['Der Alpenjäger']	Winn	St James' Hall	2 Nov 1863
03/11/63	TI	BLL 07/11/63 ER 08/11/63	CR	'As o'er the Alps he Ranges' ['Der Alpenjäger'] Title given in both languages	Winn	St James' Hall	2 Nov 1863
03/11/63	DN		CR	nothing of Schuberts			2 Nov 1863 - Monday Popular Concerts often play Schubert
04/11/63 05/11/63 06/11/63	TI		CA	'Dis le moi' ['Die vier Weltalter']	Zélia Trebelli-Bettini and Alessandro Bettini	St James' Hall	6 Nov 1863

16/11/63	LM		CA	Rondo Brillant in B minor, Op. 70 (D895)	Charles Hallé and Prosper Sainton		28 Nov 1863
24/11/63	DN	TI 30/11/63	CR	Sonata in B flat major (D960)	Charles Hallé		23 Nov 1863 - DN: the audience 'applauded loud and long [...] apparently, having discovered beauties in the work, which, we are sorry to confess, we were unable to discover. Schubert was undeniably a man of genius: the multitude of beautiful songs and ballads, which he has left behind him have put this beyond question. But in his productions *de longue haleine* he has been less successful. He seems to have been unable to grasp the structure and proportions of an extended work.' TI: 'a romantic and beautiful, though irregular and occasionally even chaotic work'
01/12/63	TI		CA	nothing specific - song			5 Dec 1863
01/12/63 03/12/63 04/12/63 05/12/63 07/12/63 08/12/63	LM		CA	Sonata in B flat major (D960), 'Lob der Tränen' for violoncello	Charles Hallé (Sonata) Paque (Violoncello)	St George's Hall	9 Dec 1863

10/12/63	LM		CR	Sonata in B flat major (D960), 'Lob der Tränen' for violoncello	Charles Hallé (Sonata) Paque (Violoncello)	St George's Hall	9 Dec 1863
16/12/63 17/12/63 18/12/63 19/12/63	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Sir Charles Santley		21 Dec 1863
17/12/63	BDP		CA	nothing specific - solo for piano		Lecture Theatre of the Midland Institute	17 Dec 1863
20/12/63	ER	TI 21/12/63	CR	'The Power of God' ['Die Allmacht'] *both titles used	Hermine Rudersdorff		14 Dec 1863 - 'very fervent, though not very dignified, religious song'. Also sang an air from M. Gounod's *Faust*, "Marguerita au Ronet", 'a clever and dramatic composition, but very inferior to Schubert's piece on the same subject, "Gretchen am Spinnrade."'
16/01/64	BM		CA	nothing specific - a serenade for piano, violin, harmonium, and violoncello	A. W. Waite, L. Waite, B.D. Vickery (harmonium), and Emily Taylor (piano)		18 Jan 1864

26/01/64	TI		CR	nothing of Schuberts	Sir Charles Santley		25 Jan 1864 - the song sung by Mr Santley ‘appears to us to have been suggested by the “Wanderer!” of Schubert, and to show M.Gounod’s inability, in this class of lyric production, to approach, much less to equal, the greatest and most prolific of all known composers of the *Lied*, or romantic ballad.’
16/02/64	DN	TI 16/02/64	CR	‘Hark, hark the lark’ [‘Ständchen’]	Banks		15 Feb 1864
13/04/64	DN	TI 13/04/64	CR	‘Thine is my heart’ [‘Ungeduld’]	Ronwick		11 April 1864
13/04/64	TI		News				small paragraph outlining life, and that a monument to be built in Vienna. ‘As is but too often the case, the merits of the originator of the musical composition known as the German “Lied” were not properly appreciated until he was dead and gone.’
17/04/64	ER		CO	‘Beautiful Miller’s Wife’ [‘Die Schöne Müllerin’]	Julius Stockhausen		in Berlin
21/04/64	TI		CA	Symphony No. 9 in C major	New Philharmonic		27 April 1864

21/04/64	TI		CA	'Who is Sylvia?' ['An Silvia']	Charlotte Sainton-Dolby		23 April 1864 - Shakespeare Tercentenary Festival
25/04/64	TI		CA	Marie	Helen Lemmens-Sherrington	St James' Hall	25 April 1864
26/04/64	BDP		CR	'Who is Sylvia?' ['An Silvia']	Julia Parker		25 April 1864
27/04/64	BDP		CR	'Who is Sylvia?' ['An Silvia']	G. Mainwaring	public hall of the Mechanics' Institute	no date - Shakespeare Tercentenary Festival
27/04/64	BDP	TI 27/04/64	CR	'Who is Sylvia?' ['An Silvia']	Laura Baxter	Pavilian	26 April 1864 - Shakespeare Tercentenary Festival - Madame Sainton-Dolby to sing, but indisposed
01/05/64	ER		CR	'Who is Sylvia?' ['An Silvia']	Charlotte Sainton-Dolby		25 April 1864 - Shakespeare Tercentenary Festival
06/05/64	TI		CR	'Gondolier' ['Gondelfahrer']		Hanover Square Rooms	5 May 1864
15/05/64	ER		CR	nothing specific		Hanover Square Rooms	9 May 1864
17/05/64	TI		CA	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)	Henry K. Wieniawski, Alfred Jaell, Léon Jacquard	St James' Hall	17 May 1864
21/05/64	TI		CA	'Le roseau dépouillé'	Banks	St James' Hall	23 May 1864
21/05/64	MT		CR	nothing specific - piano	Elizabeth Somerville	Collard's Rooms	17 May 1864

22/05/64	ER		CO	nothing specific	Gunz		Commentary on the music festival of Air-la-Chapelle: the 'gentleman was much applauded in some of Schubert's songs'
23/05/64	TI		CR	variations on Schubert's First Waltz, Fantasy, Op. 15 (D760), and song(s)	Ernst Pauer (piano), unknown singer	Hanover Square Rooms	no date
28/05/64	LEM		CA	'Ave Maria'	Dr William Spark (organ)	Town Hall	28 May 1864
28/05/64	TI		CA	'Die Forelle'	Leschetizky	St James' Hall	30 May 1864
01/06/64	DN		CR	nothing specific	Meyer-Dustmann		31 May 1864
01/06/64	TI		CA	nothing specific - piano	Emma Maria Macfarren	St James' Hall	2 June 1864
04/06/64	TI		CA	'Die Forelle'	Leschetizky		6 June 1864
04/06/64	JB		CR	'Gondolier' ['Gondelfahrer']	the Wandering Minstrels	Hanover Square Rooms	1 June 1864
05/06/64	ER		CR	nothing specific	Meyer-Dustmann		31 May 1864
09/06/64	TI	BLL 11/06/64	CR	'Erlkönig' - transcription	Henry K Wieniawski (violin)		6 June 1864
11/06/64	TI	DN 13/06/64	CA	'Ungeduld'	Leschetizka, Jaell (accompaniment)		14 June 1864
16/06/64	DN		CR	'Ungeduld'	Leschetizka, Jaell (accompaniment)		14 June 1864
18/06/64	IJ		CR	'Sweet little bird depart'	Rosa Suell		10 June 1864

19/06/64	ER		RE	nothing specific		St James' Hall	2, 9, 16 June 1864
26/06/64	ER		CR	'Der Neugierige', 'Ungeduld' and 'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Elvira Behrens, Allan Irving ('Wanderer')	residence of Herr Wilhelm Ganz	22 June 1864 - ('Der Wanderer') sung in English
02/07/64 02/07/64 (2 ads) 04/07/64	TI		CA	Rondo Brillant in B minor, Op. 70 (D895)	Charles Hallé and Henry K. Wieniawski		4 July 1864
03/07/64	ER		CR	Sonata in A	Lindsay Sloper		29 June 1864
18/07/64	DN		CR	'Gondolier' ['Gondelfahrer']			15 July 1864
17/08/64	TEF		CA	'The Post' ['Die Post'] and 'Ave Maria'	Parotti	Royal Public Rooms	19 Aug 1864
24/09/64	MT		CO	nothing specific			'An opera has been brought out at the Karl-Theatre, Vienna, constructed by Franz von Suppe, from Franz Schubert's compositions, - the name of "Franz Schubert" being the title of the curious production.'
03/10/64	LEM		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Wilkinson	Victoria Hall	1 Oct 1864
04/10/64	LM	DM 05/10/64	CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	John George Patey		3 Oct 1864
28/10/64	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Lewis Thomas		29 Oct 1864

01/11/64	TI		CO	nothing specific			Commentary on the Crystal Palace Concerts - discusses wide range of music played there
10/11/64	BDP		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	John George Patey	Town Hall	10 Nov 1864
11/11/64	BDP		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	John George Patey	Town Hall	10 Nov 1864 - 'He took the time of Schubert's song much slower than we have been accustomed to hear it, or than, we think, the composer intended.'
22/11/64	LM		CR	nothing specific - piano-forte solos	Charles Hallé	St George's Hall	21 Nov 1864
04/12/64	ER		CR	nothing specific	de Abna and Prasseu		no date, possibly concert given abroad
09/12/64 10/12/64	LM		CA	Impromptu in B flat major, No. 3, Op. 142 (D935)	Ernst Pauer	St George's Hall	10 Dec 1864
12/12/64	LM		CR	Impromptu in B flat major, No. 3, Op. 142 (D935)	Ernst Pauer	St George's Hall	10 Dec 1864
17/12/64	TI		CA	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Salvatore Marchesi	The Crystal Palace	17 Dec 1864

24/12/64	BLL	ER 25/12/64	CR	Quintet in A major, Op. 114 (D667) and 'On every tree that blossoms in the grove'	Burnet, Betjemann, E. Howell, Prout [probably Ebenezer], and Arthur Howell (quintet), Schneegans (song)	Manor Rooms	20 Dec 1864 - ER: on the quintet and its movements - 'all of which are tuneful and clever, although perhaps here and there somewhat commonplace when compared with the great works with which they were brought in immediate comparison.'
03/01/65	LEM		CA	'Ave Maria'	Dr William Spark (organ)	Town Hall	3 Jan 1865
05/01/65	TI		CA	nothing specific	Emma Maria Macfarren (pianist); Elizabeth Robertine Henderson (vocalist)	Lecture Rooms	5 Jan 1865
06/01/65	BDP		CR	solo - piano by Schubert and Hiller		Institute Lecture Theatre	5 Jan 1865
17/01/65	TI		CR	nothing of Schuberts			16 Jan 1865 - 'And even when the composition of the masters to whose names Mr Chappell gives especial prominence are exhausted (and how long will it take to exhaust them?) there are others only less worthy of consideration, to fall back upon - as, for example, Cherubini, Clementi, Dussek, Hummel,

							Weber, Schubert, &c., all honest labourers in the field of art, all men peculiarly gifted.'
28/01/65	BLL	ER 29/01/65	CR	'Le Berger sur la Montagne (Mountain Shepherd)'	Florence Lancia (singer), Henry Lazarus (clarinet)	St James' Hall	23 Jan 1865
31/01/65	TI		CR	nothing of Schuberts			30 Jan 1865 - mentions that Monday Popular Concerts often play works of Schubert among others. 'Of all the sonatas composed for pianoforte alone, those exquisite models of purity that bear the name of Mozart alone excepted - and not excepting by any means the sonatas of Clementi, Hummel, Weber, and Schubert.'
05/02/65	ER		CR	'Oh, see the morning's silvery light'	Lucy Hann (singer), Burnett (violin)	Manor Rooms	31 Jan 1865
12/02/65	ER		CR	'Ungeduld'	Mehlhorn		4 Feb 1865
18/02/65	JB	ER 19/02/65	CR	'Le Désir'	Charlotte Zeiss		11 Feb 1865
21/02/65	LEM		CA	'Ave Maria'	Dr William Spark (organ)	Town Hall	21 Feb 1865

25/02/65	LM		CA	Grandes Marches, No. 3 in B minor, Op. 40 (D819)	William Thomas Best (organ)	St George's Hall	25 Feb 1865
01/03/65 03/03/65 06/03/65	TI		CA	Sonata in B flat major (D960)	Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	6 March 1865

07/03/65	DN	TI 07/03/65 ER 12/03/65	CR	Sonata in B flat major (D960)	Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	6 March 1865 - DN: 'unworthy of the company in which it was placed. It was of immoderate length, and seemed to be an endeavour to imitate the latest compositions of Beethoven, an endeavour which succeeded in so far as regarded incoherence and obscurity, but failed in respect to those bright gleams of beauty, power, and passion which burst through the clouds and darkness of those strange productions. To us, we are constrained to say, this sonata appeared a long, unmeaning rhapsody, which excited no feeling in our mind save mere weariness. Schubert gained a great and enduring reputation as a composer of Lieder - songs and ballads. But his want of the constructive faculty has caused his failure in every attempt to produce works in which clearness of design and symmetry of form are requisite. The audience applauded Mr Hallé's exertions, but the applause was faint, and evidently prompted more by courtesy than by feeling.' TI: 'may be likened to an extensive and variegated garden sadly in need of a careful gardener to uproot the weeds, to tend and trim, to water and to watch.

							Schubert should have read Bacon's essay On Gardens, and have applied its principles to this and others of his more ambitious instrumental works. Genius as he was, undoubtedly, the faculty of order was wanting in this prolific composer.' Article also previews next concert - to join Hallé is Joachim and Piatti in Schubert's trio. ER: 'Even the pianist's extraordinary talent, though doing every justice to the work, could not certify Schubert as a composer for this special instrument.'

08/03/65 11/03/65	TI		CA	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)	Charles Hallé, Joseph Joachim and Alfred Piatti	St James' Hall	13 March 1865
10/03/65	BDP		CR	solo - piano by Schubert and Chopin	Franklin Taylor or O.E. Fiavell	Assembly Room of the New Exchange	9 March 1865
25/03/65	TI		CA	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Fass	The Crystal Palace	25 March 1865
26/03/65	ER		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Lewis Thomas	The Crystal Palace	18 March 1865
26/03/65	ER		CA - Vienna				no date - concert to be given in Vienna to raise money for a monument to Schubert. Principal vocalists will be Frau Dustmann, Fraulein Bettelheim and Herr Walter
10/04/65 (3 ads)	TI		CA	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898), 'Ave Maria', Rondo Brillant, Op. 70 (D895)	Charles Hallé, Joseph Joachim, and Alfred Piatti (Trio), Edith Wynne ('Ave Maria'), Charles Hallé and Joseph Joachim (rondeau)	St James' Hall	10 April 1865
14/04/65	TI		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	C. H. Hawkins	Winchester College Hall	8 April 1865

15/04/65	BLL		CR	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898), ‘Ave Maria’, Rondo Brillant, Op. 70 (D895)	Charles Hallé, Joseph Joachim, and Alfred Piatti (Trio), Edith Wynne (‘Ave Maria’), Charles Hallé and Joseph Joachim (rondeau)	St James’ Hall	10 April 1865
17/04/65 18/04/65 26/04/65	TI		CA	Symphony No. 9 in C major	Henry Wylde (conductor), New Philharmonic	St James’ Hall	26 April 1865 - concert, Public Rehearsal on 22 April 1865
23/04/65 30/04/65	ER		CR	Symphony No. 9 in C major	Henry Wylde (conductor), New Philharmonic		19 April 1865
28/04/65	DN		CA	Piano Trio in E flat major Op. 100 (D929)	Grün, Edward Dannreuther, and Paque		29 April 1865

28/04/65	TI		CR	Symphony No. 9 in C major	Henry Wylde (conductor), New Philharmonic	St James' Hall	26 April 1865 - 'The second concert, which took place on Wednesday night, if not quite so attractive as the first, was nevertheless in all respects excellent. There is only one Beethoven and only one "Ninth Symphony." Nevertheless, Schubert's Symphony in C is a work so full of interest that Dr Wylde might safely dispense with the expedient of curtailing it. Either his audience are disposed to welcome the orchestral music of Schubert or they are not. If they are, which we are quite inclined to believe they would surely prefer hearing the one symphony of his that can be obtained from among the several that he composed precisely as Schubert wrote it. Schubert wants no apology from Dr Wylde, or from anyone else, and the character of his music is such that it cannot without prejudice be tampered with. The omission of the repetitions of certain passages, for which Dr Wylde apologises in a foot-note, instead of making the symphony appear shorter, as he insinuated, rather made it appear longer.'
29/04/65	TI		CA	'Ave Maria'	Edith Wynne	St James' Hall	1 May 1865
01/05/65	TI		CA	nothing specific -	Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	5 May, 12 May, 19 May 26 May, 2 June,

				sonatas			9 June, 23 June, 29 June 1865 (Schubert's music played at many of these)
01/05/65 03/05/65	TI		CA	Sonata in A minor	Walter Macfarren (piano)	Hanover Square Rooms	6 May, 27 May, 17 June 1865
06/05/65	DN		CR	nothing specific	Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	5 May 1865
06/05/65	JB		CR	Piano Trio in E flat major Op. 100 (D929)	Edward Dannreuther (pianist), Grün, and Paque	Willis' Rooms	29 April 1865
18/05/65	TI		CA	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)	Joseph Joachim, Ries [whole of family of musicians], Webb [whole family of musicians], and Alfred Piatti, Alfred Jaell (pianist)	St James' Hall	23 May 1865
25/05/65	TI		CA	Rondo Brillant in B minor, Op .70 (D895)	Straus (violin) [possibly also with Madame Eugene Oswald…check what instrumentation this piece calls for]		25 May 1865
26/05/65 27/05/65	TI		CA	'O'er the bright flood'	Edith Wynne	St James' Hall	27 May 1865

31/05/65	TI		CA	Impromptu in A flat major, No. 2, Op. 142 (D935)	Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	2 June 1865
01/06/65	PMG		CR	Impromptu, Op. 142 (D935)	Anna Molique	residence of the Marquis Townshend	30 May 1865
06/06/65	TI		CR	'Wohin?', and one other lieder	Joseph Hauser		no date - 'the other day' - 'Herr Joseph Hauser introduced two *Lieder* by Schubert, one of which ("Wohin") is among the most genial and charming of the "600".'
07/06/65	TI		CA	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Emily Soldene	St James' Hall	8 June 1865
10/06/65	BLL		CR	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Palmer	St James' Hall	6 June 1865 - 'weird and characteristic lieder'
13/06/65 15/06/65 16/06/65	TI		CA	Piano Sonata in G major, Op. 78 (D894)	Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	16 June 1865
18/06/65	ER		CR	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Palmer	St James' Hall	9 June 1865 - 'Miss Palmer's artistic appreciation of high class music was shown in her rendering of Schubert's "Erl King."'
23/06/65	TI		CA	Grand Sonata in A (Op. post.)	Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	23 June 1865
25/06/65	ER		CR	'Die Forelle'	Marie Welch	Willis' Rooms	17 June 1865
27/06/65	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Vining	Collard's Rooms	27 June, 29 June and 1 July (at the Beethoven Rooms) 1865

28/06/65 30/06/65	TI		CA	nothing specific - songs	Joseph Hauser		4 July 1865
29/06/65	PMG		RE				Review of book: A General History of Music By Dr Joseph Schlüter Translated from the German by Mrs Robert Tabbs (London: Richard Bentley. 1865): criticizes Schlüter's 'recognition of melody'. 'Not one of the greatest, but a real poet [Schubert] […]. In those charming songs of his - almost everyone a little drama in one short act - there exists a unity between the expressive melodic forms and their accompaniments which makes him the most artistic of song-writers. Schubert's songs cannot be coolly and critically listened to. He takes hold of you, and changes your passing mood into his mood; you can hardly tell why he so charms you, but so it is and until the strain dies away, you think and feel as if you were witnessing a moving scene in a thoroughly human drama. And all this merely because both air and accompaniment are one speaking time from beginning to end.'
29/06/65 30/06/65	TI		CA	Rondo Brillant in B minor, Op. 70 (D895)	Straus and Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	3 July 1865

03/07/65	DN		CA	nothing specific - songs	Joseph Hauser		4 July 1865
05/07/65	TI		CA	'L'Adieu' ['Adieu'; see above]	Conte di Candia Mario		5 July 1865
05/07/65	DN		CR	Rondo Brillant in B minor, Op. 70 (D895)	Straus and Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	3 July 1865
08/07/65	JB		CR	'Der Wanderer' and two other songs	Krebs Michalin	Hanover Square Rooms	3 July 1865
07/10/65	LM		CA	Grandes Marches, Op. 40 (D819)	William Thomas Best (organ)	St George's Hall	7 Oct 1865
07/10/65	BM	TEF 11/10/65 MT 17/02/66	RE				Review of an article in the *Shilling Magazine*: '*Robert Schumann on Music and Musicians*, devoted to Schubert, Mendelssohn, and Beethoven' TEF: discusses various composers including Schubert along with the city of Vienna. Cites Schumann: 'Schubert's Symphony, with all its romantic life, its clearness and freshness, brings the city before me to-day more distinctly than ever, and I plainly see how readily such works can be produced there.' MT: 'All he has to say about Beethoven and Schubert is worth reading.' One of the periodicals is an 'eloquent

							glorification' of Schubert's Symphony in C.
16/10/65 20/10/65	TI		CA	nothing specific	Emma Maria Macfarren (pianist), Florence de Courey (vocalist)	Vestry Hall	20 Oct 1865
21/10/65	DN	BDP 23/10/65 LEM 24/10/65	LA				Literature Announcement: *Life of Franz Schubert, from the German of Dr Kreissle von Hellborn* by Edward Wilberforce
28/10/65	LM		CA	Grandes Marches, Op. 40 (D819)		St George's Hall	28 Oct 1865
06/11/65	TI		CO				Commentary on the revival of Der Freischütz discusses how Weber was influenced by *Fidelio*- 'it is impossible to doubt that while writing it Weber was irresistibly influenced by the colossus with whom it was his fate, like the still less lucky Franz Schubert'
23/11/65	PMG	TI 23/11/65	CA	*Rosamunde* - Overture		Her Majesty's Theatre	23 Nov 1865 - TI: 'first time in England' [not true!]
25/11/65	HTS		CA	'Ave Maria'	Dolby	Assembly Rooms, Portland Hotel	29 Nov 1865

26/11/65	ER		CR	*Fierrabras* - Overture			19 Nov 1865 - concert in Vienna - 'The Academie Harmonic Society and the Philharmonic Society have recently given some highly attractive concerts in the Austrian capital. On the 19th instant, the anniversary of Schubert's death (1828), the latter Society re-produced his fine overture to his opera of *Fierrabras*. His name is still a very popular one in Vienna, his native city.'
02/12/65	EX		News				'A considerable number of MS. Songs by Schubert have been found, with a sketch of an opera by him on *Admetus*.'
03/12/65	ER		CR	*Rosamunde* - Overture		Her Majesty's Theatre	23 Nov 1865
04/12/65	TI		CO	nothing specific			Commentary on the concerts at the Crystal Palace: discusses Schumann - 'whose intellectual aspiration, had it been sustained by richness of invention and technical skill in proportion, would have placed him in a certain sense nearer to Beethoven than perhaps any composer - the more liberally gifted Schubert not excepted.'
07/12/65	BDP		CA	Impromptu in E Flat major, No. 2, Op. 90 (D899)	Kate Donalds	Town Hall	7 Dec 1865
23/12/65	MT		CO				'new manuscripts by Schubert have turned up.'

04/01/66	LM		CA	Grandes Marches, Op. 40 (D819)	William Thomas Best (organ)	St George's Hall	4 Jan 1866
12/01/66	BDP		CR	nothing specific - songs for voloncello	Hugo Daubert (violoncello)		11 Jan 1866
12/01/66	TI		AD				Ad: *Franz Schubert: A Musical Biography, from the German of Dr Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn* by Edward Wilberforce (London: Allen and Co.)
20/01/66	MT		CO	nothing specific			death of the Baron de Spaunn, who was a 'passionate admirer of Schubert's music'
20/01/66	JOJ		CR	*Rosamunde* - Overture - played as a piano duet		Corn Exchange	16 Jan 1866
25/01/66	BDP		CA	nothing specific - vocal music		Exchange Assembly Rooms	1 Feb 1866
26/01/66	LEM		CR	Moments Musicaux, F minor, Op. 94 (D780)	Charles Hallé	Victoria Hall	date illegible - 'a pretty trifle'

30/01/66 01/02/66 02/02/66	TI		CA	Quartet in D minor (D810) and ‘O’er the bright flood’	Strauss (violin), Louis Ries (second violin), H. Webb(viola), Paque (violoncello), Arabella Goddard (piano), Banks (vocalist)	St James’ Hall	5 Feb 1866
01/02/66	BDP		CA	‘Adieu’ [see above]and ‘Hark, hark the lark’ [‘Ständchen’]	Westbrook	Assembly Rooms	1 Feb 1866 - ‘two of Schubert’s most admired songs’
01/02/66	EDM		N/A	‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]			printed music in the periodical, words in Eng
02/02/66	BDP		CR	‘Adieu’ [see above] and ‘Hark, hark the lark’ [‘Ständchen’]	Westbrook	Assembly Rooms	1 Feb 1866

10/02/66	BLL	ER 11/02/66	CR	Quartet in D minor (D810) and 'O'er the bright flood'	Strauss (violin), Louis Ries (second violin), H. Webb(viola), Paque (violoncello), Arabella Goddard (piano), Banks (vocalist)		5 Feb 1866 - ER: 'The English public have long held Schubert in the highest estimation as a song-writer of unparalleled excellence, and his musical genius will, it is to be hoped, receive proper acknowledgment as a composer of more important works than songs and ballads.'
10/02/66	EX		RE				Review of book: *Franz Schubert: A Musical Biography, from the German of Dr Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn* by Edward Wilberforce (London: Allen and Co.): article gives biography of Schubert
13/02/66	LEM		N/A				one paragraph summary of Schubert's life
16/02/66	HP		LRE	nothing specific		Royal Institution Theatre	Monday and Wednesday evenings lectures with music examples
17/02/66	TI		CA	Scherzo from Symphony in C major [either No. 6 or No. 9]		The Crystal Palace	17 Feb 1866
17/02/66	MT		RE				translations of Robert Schumann appearing in the *Shilling Magazine* - 'All he has to say about Beethoven and Schubert is worth reading'. One of the periodical is 'an eloquent glorification of Schubert's great Symphony in C.'

18/02/66 25/02/66	ER	TI 26/02/66	CR	Scherzo from Symphony in C major [either No. 6 or No. 9]		The Crystal Palace	17 Feb 1866 - 'a most delightful movement' TI: the scherzo of the symphony in C would have been more effective if 'in its proper place as portion of the entire work, from which it was unwise to separate it.'
20/02/66	LEM		CO				compares Schumann to Schubert and writes, 'I must declare that Franz Schubert is a far finer lyrical musician, and Beethoven a stronger, loftier, more coherent instrumental composer, and equal, if not superior, in passion and delicacy of feeling.'
01/03/66	EDM		N/A				Poem - *Fair Lady Grace* by F. C. Burnand, alternate words to 'Der Wanderer'
01/03/66	PMG		CO				Schumann's personality discussed as displayed in criticisms of Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Chopin, Bennett, etc.
01/03/66 02/03/66 05/03/66	TI		CA	Impromptu in B flat major, No. 3, Op. 142 (D935)	Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	5 March 1866
05/03/66 06/03/66 07/03/66 08/03/66 10/03/66	TI		CA	'Serenade' ['Ständchen']	William Hayman Cummings	St James' Hall	10 March 1866 - also advertises for concerts on 17 March and 24 March 1866

08/03/66 12/03/66	BDP		CA	‘Barcarolle’ [‘Gondelfahrer’]		Exchange Assembly Rooms	15 March 1866
10/03/66	JB		AD				Ad for *Franz Schubert: A Musical Biography* in Mudie’s Select Library
13/03/66 15/03/66 16/03/66 17/03/66	TI		CA	‘On nous attend là has [or bas]’	Sir Charles Santley	St James’ Hall	17 March 1866 - also advertises for concert on 24 March 1866
23/03/66 26/03/66	TI		CA	‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’], and Impromptu in A flat major [either Op. 90 or Op. 142]	Sir Charles Santley (song)	St James’ Hall	26 March 1866
24/03/66	LM		CA	Grandes Marches, Op. 40 (D819)	William Thomas Best (organ)	St George’s Hall	24 March 1866
25/03/66	ER		CR	nothing of Schubert’s			21 March 1866 - Mdlle. Liebhart was encored and repeated ‘The Lover and the Bird’, but she ‘should have something better to sing than feeble drawing-room effusions of this kind. Franz Schubert wrote a few songs which no one could sing better than this lady.’
30/03/66	TI		CA	nothing specific			3 April 1866

01/04/66	ER		CR	nothing specific		residence of the Countess Liedekerke-Beaufort	no date - a few days ago
02/04/66	DN	JB 16/06/66	RE				Review of book: Franz Schubert: A Musical Biography, from the German of Dr Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn by Edward Wilberforce (London: Allen and Co.) DN: article gives biography of Schubert JB: article gives lengthy biography of Schubert. 'Mozart, we know, wrote a concerto at six, and an orchestral symphony at eight. Schubert comes very near him: his first piece was composed in his thirteenth year, his first song a year after.' Discusses how Vienna did not appreciate Schubert - 'Yet we remember it was the same of Mozart, and long ago of Handel.' Mentions Beethoven in passing and talks briefly about his death and Schubert's role in the funeral.
11/04/66	TI		CR	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)	Reis [whole family of musicians](violin), Paque (violoncello), Thorne (piano)	Assembly Rooms	6 April 1866 - 'This was the most important piece in the programme […]. The music, itself, is beautiful.'

14/04/66	TI		CA	nothing specific		Hanover Square Rooms	10 May, 24 May 7 June 1866
16/04/66	TI		CR	nothing of Schubert's			no date - 'At the next concert we are promised Schubert's very original, and in all respects remarkable, Symphony in C, No. 7 (the only symphony of his prolific pet which is known in this country) [typo, mostly likely is No. 9] […]. The symphony of Schubert alone will be a temptation to connoisseurs.'
20/04/66	DN	TI 21/04/66	CA	Symphony No. 9 in C major		The Crystal Palace	21 April 1866
22/04/66	ER	JB 28/04/66	CR	Symphony No. 9 in C major		The Crystal Palace	21 April 1866 - ER: 'a monument of that perfect musician's genius in every way' JB: - 'picturesque' 'to which special interest attached from Schumann's criticism translated in the *Shilling Magazine*, was the great feature in the programme.'
25/04/66	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Aynsley Cooke		25 April 1866
25/04/66 26/04/66 28/04/66	TI		CA	Impromptu in B flat major, No. 3, Op. 142 (D935)	Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	30 April 1866
26/04/66	TI		CA	Piano Trio in E flat major Op. 100 (D929) and other pieces,		Beethoven Rooms	26 April 1866

				nothing specific			
28/04/66	DN	PMG 30/04/66 01/05/66	AD				Ad - *Schubert and Chopin* by Rev. H.R. Haweis (pub. Strahan & Co.)
28/04/66 02/05/66	TI		CA	'Ständchen' for five female voices with harp accompaniment		Willis' Rooms	7 June 1866
30/04/66	TI		CR/CO	Symphony in C (No. 7), [typo as No. 7 is in E major, most likely is No. 9], Sonata in A	Charles Hallé (piano sonata)		CR/Commentary on Crystal Palace concerts and Monday Popular Concerts: no date, 2 different concerts - of the symphony: 'One of the longest compositions extant, every movement is, nevertheless, full of interest, every measure, in short, beats with the pulsation of real and vigorous life. It is a picturesque masterpiece of the highest order.' Of the Sonata -'enchanting though little known'.
05/05/66	JB		CO	Symphony No. 9 in C major		The Crystal Palace	The Symphony in C was performed at the Crystal Palace.
06/05/66	ER		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Lewis Thomas	Collard's Rooms	2 May 1866
07/05/66 08/05/66	TI		CA	Quartet in D minor (D810)		St James' Hall	8 May 1866
13/05/66	ER		CR	Sonata in A minor, Op. 42 (D845)	Agnes Zimmermann	Hanover Square Rooms	10 May 1866 - 'full of the composer's originality, and a work which should be heard much more frequently than it is.'

18/05/66 21/05/66	TI		CA	a divertissement on two valses (Hommage aux Belles Viennoises, F. Schubert), by E. Pauer		Hanover Square Rooms	1 June 1866
26/05/66 01/06/66 02/06/66 04/06/66	TI		CA	nothing specific - song	Julia Elton	St James' Hall	4 June 1866
01/06/66	TI		CA	nothing specific	George Russell	Lecture Hall	1 June 1866
03/06/66	ER	TI 04/06/66 05/06/66	CA	nothing specific		St James' Hall	5 June 1866
04/06/66 06/06/66	TI		CA	songs from 'Winterreise'	Elvira Behrens		7 June 1866
08/06/66 11/06/66	TI		CA	'L'Adieu' ['Adieu'; see above]	Adelina Patti	Royal Italian Opera	13 June 1866
09/06/66	MT		N/A	nothing specific			Poem - *A Tempting Bait* (no author), Schubert's name mentioned in the poem 'Clever too, as I expected - Schubert's melodies she plays'.

09/06/66 11/06/66 12/06/66 13/06/66 14/06/66 15/06/66 16/06/66 (2 ads) 18/06/06	TI		CA	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)	Charles Hallé, Henry K. Wieniawski, Alfred Piatti	St James' Hall	18 June 1866
10/06/66	ER		CR	Impromptu in E Flat major, No. 2, Op. 90 (D899)	John Macfarren	St James' Hall	5 June 1866. ' "Let us picture the Schubert family," says Mr Macfarren, and "Let us hear more of Schubert's pianoforte music," must certainly be the desire of those who appreciate true genius, if somewhat of a wild nature.'
11/06/66	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Vining	Assembly Rooms	11 June 1866
11/06/66	TI		CA	Impromptu in B flat major, No. 3, Op. 142 (D935)	Charles Hallé		14 June 1866
11/06/66	TI		CR	nothing specific - one of the *Lieder*	Julius Benedict		no date - at next concert trip in B flat by Charles Hallé
12/06/66	LEM		N/A				Section from book: *Franz Schubert*, discusses number of songs and Schubert's poets.
15/06/66	TI		CA	'Am Meer'	de Poellnitz	St James' Hall	18 June 1866
16/06/66	JOJ		CR	'Who is Sylvia?' ['An Silvia']		Town Hall	9 June 1866

17/06/66	ER		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Lewis Thomas	St James' Hall	14 June 1866
17/06/66	ER		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Vining	Assembly Rooms	11 June 1866
22/06/66 23/06/66 (2 ads) 28/06/66 29/06/66 (2 ads) 30/06/66 02/07/66 (2 ads)	TI		CA	Impromptus in C minor and E flat major, Nos. 1-2, Op. 90 (D899)	Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	2 July 1866
24/06/66	ER		CR	'Am Meer'	de Poellnitz	St James' Hall	18 June 1866
25/06/66	TI		CR	Piano Trio in B flat major, Op. 99 (D898)	Charles Hallé, Henry K. Wieniawski (violin), Alfred Piatti (Violoncello)	St James' Hall	no date - last Monday Popular Concert
28/06/66	LM		CA	Grandes Marches, Op. 40 (D819)	William Thomas Best (organ)	St George's Hall	28 June 1866

01/07/66	ER		CR	'Ave Maria' and 'Dis le moi' ['Die vier Weltalter']	Maria Vilda, stage name (Marie Wilt) ('Ave Maria'), and Zélia Trebelli-Bettini and Alessandro Bettini (Dis le moi)	St James' Hall	27 June 1866 - on 'Ave Maria': 'Schubert's magnificent song'
03/07/66	DN	JB 07/07/66	CR	Impromptus in C minor and E flat major, Nos. 1-2, Op. 90 (D899)	Charles Hallé	St James' Hall	2 July 1866
06/07/66	LEM		CR	nothing specific - March	Herr Majesty's private band		4 July 1866 - Queen's concert
07/07/66	JB		CR	nothing specific	Alfred Piatti, Lubeck (accompanist)		3 July 1866
26/07/66 27/07/66 28/07/66 30/07/66	TI		CA	'Der Neugierige'	Dr Gunz	St James' Hall	30 July 1866
29/07/66	ER		CR	nothing of Schuberts			25 July 1866 - The Schubert Society not named after Franz but after E. Schubert, founder of the society. 'That poor dead-and-gone, Franz, the song-writer, deserves no niche in that gingerbread Temple of Fame from which his namesake looks down upon musical London.'

12/08/66	ER		CR	'Ave Maria' - solo for cornet	Levy	Hall-by-the Sea	9 Aug 1866
16/08/66 17/08/66	DN	TI 18/08/66	CA	Marche Militaire, No. 1, Op. 51 (D733) and 'Erlkönig'	Military and Orchestral Bands and Eight Pianists, Elvira Behrens (singer)	The Crystal Palace	18 Aug 1866
19/08/66	ER		CR	Marche Militaire, No. 1, Op. 51 (D733) and 'Erlkönig'	Military and Orchestral Bands and Eight Pianists, Elvira Behrens (singer)	The Crystal Palace	18 Aug 1866
22/08/66	LEM		CR	'Ave Maria'	Dr William Spark (organ)	Town Hall	21 Aug 1866
05/09/66 06/09/66	TI	DN 06/09/66 PMG 06/09/66	CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Henri Drayton	Covent Garden Theatre	6 Sept 1866
08/09/66	LM		CA	*Alfonso und Estrella* - Overture	William Thomas Best (organ)	St George's Hall	8 Sept 1866
09/09/66	ER	TI 11/09/66	CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Henri Drayton	Covent Garden Theatre	6 Sept 1866
11/09/66	TI		CA	nothing specific			13 Sept 1866

12/09/66 13/09/66	PMG	DN 13/09/66 EX 15/09/66 TI 15/09/66	AD				Ad - *Franz Schubert* by Rev. H.S. Fagan
13/09/66	TI		CR	nothing of Schuberts			12 Sept 1866 [?] - Worcester Musical Festival, 'Schumann was almost as mad about Weber as he was about Schubert and Chopin'
15/09/66	TI		CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Lewis (singer), Pratten (flute)		no date - Worcester Musical Festival, sometime around 14 Sept 1866
19/09/66	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Henri Drayton	Covent Garden Theatre	19 Sept 1866
06/10/66	TI	DN 06/10/66 (2 articles)	CA	Fantasy in C major, Op. 15 (D760), arr. for piano and orchestra by Franz Liszt	F. Hartvigson (pianoforte)	The Crystal Palace	6 Oct 1866
07/10/66 14/10/66	ER	TI 08/10/66	CR	Fantasy in C major, Op. 15 (D760), arr. for piano and orchestra by Franz Liszt	F. Hartvigson (pianoforte)	The Crystal Palace	6 Oct 1866
12/10/66	TI		CA	'Adieu' [see above]	Caravoglia	Covent Garden Theatre	12 Oct 1866

12/10/66	TI	DN 13/10/66	CA	*Alfonso und Estrella* - Overture		The Crystal Palace	13 Oct 1866
19/10/66	LM		CA	'Ave Maria' - solo for cornet	Levy	Late Prince of Wales Theatre	19 Oct 1866
25/10/66	PMG		CO				'Meyerbeer, wishing to set the "Erl King" for three voices and a chorus, declared that it would be impossible to do so without making use of the melody of Schubert's song, so long and so universally associated with the subject.'
02/11/66	TI	DN 03/11/66	CA	*Alfonso und Estrella* or *Rosamunde* - Overture		The Crystal Palace	3 Nov 1866 - discrepancies between the two periodicals
02/11/66	PMG		CO	nothing specific			Commentary on music
09/11/66 10/11/66	TI	DN 09/11/66	CA	Entr'acte No. 1 and No. 3 and 'Der Vollmond strahlt' from *Rosamunde*		The Crystal Palace	10 Nov 1866
11/11/66	ER		CR	'Who is Sylvia?' ['An Silvia']	Julia Derby	residence of Mr F. Kingsbury	8 Nov 1866

12/11/66	TI		CR	*Alfonso und Estrella* '(played sometimes) under the name of *Rosamunde*)', and The Grand Fantasia, Op. 15 for piano and orchestra	Fritz Hartvigson (pianist)	The Crystal Palace	CR of 6 Crystal Palace Concerts: Comments in detail upon the 6th concert (10 Nov 1866) - incidental pieces for Rosamunde (two *entr'actes*, a romance for mezzo-soprano voice, three choruses, and ballet). It 'was for several reasons the most interesting of the day. First it introduced something wholly unknown in this country; secondly, the something unknown was by Franz Schubert, whose smallest effusions are now as eagerly looked after as his largest were neglected in his lifetime; thirdly this unknown music is as truly original as it is truly beautiful; and lastly, the performance was as near perfection.' Regarding the first *entr'acte* - 'It is such a movement as we can fancy only one other composer imagining; but then Beethoven would have treated it in quite a different manner.'

12/11/66	DN		CR	Entr'actes and 'Der Vollmond strahlt' from *Rosamunde*		The Crystal Palace	10 Nov 1866 - 'The great musical poet […] has only of recent years gained that position as an instrumental composer to which the quality and quantity of his works in that respect entitle him […]. Although he never approached Beethoven in grandeur and sublimity and power over the deepest emotions, Schubert frequently resembles that great master in abstract idealism, and those exquisite floating reveries which soar beyond all control of conventional form and precedent.' Continues on to discuss incidental music to Rosamunde.
21/11/66	DM	JB 24/11/66	CR	Souvenirs de Schubert for violin and Piano	E.B. Knobel and Lady Adelaide Law		20 Nov 1866
24/11/66 26/11/66	TI		CA	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Sir Charles Santley	St James' Hall	26 Nov 1866
26/11/66 28/11/66	TI		CA	Symphony No. 9 in C major		The Crystal Palace	28 and 29 Nov 1866
27/11/66	DN	BLL 01/12/66	CR	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Sir Charles Santley	St James' Hall	26 Nov 1866 - 'Schubert's exquisite song (one out of some four or five hundred which he has left, not all equally good, perhaps, but few unworthy of association with it)'
27/11/66 01/12/66	TI		CA	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Sir Charles Santley	St James' Hall	3 Dec 1866

30/11/66	BDP		CR	Impromptu (either Op. 90 or Op. 142)	Mathtile Martin	Town Hall	29 Nov 1866
30/11/66	DN	TI 30/11/66	CA	Italian Overture in C major, Op. 170 (D590) and Offertorium, *Salve Regina*		The Crystal Palace	1 Dec 1866
03/12/66	DN		CR/CO	Italian Overture in C major, Op. 170 (D590) and Offertorium, *Salve Regina*			Commentary on Schubert/CR: 1 Dec 1866 - 'Three weeks since we spoke of the production […] of the charming incidental music with which Franz Schubert enriched the dull German drama of *Rosamunde* […]. Until recently Schubert was only known to the general musical public as a composer of "Lieder" [...] his instrumental works are in themselves of such extent and importance as to place him, not only in point of imaginative genius, but also in fertility, among those phenomena of art history who have achieved, in a brief span of mortal life, results which would seem to demand a career of twice the length for their fulfilment.' Continues on to discuss Schubert's style and concert.

04/12/66	DN		CR	‘The Erl King’ [‘Erlkönig’]	Sir Charles Santley		3 Dec 1866 - ‘Beethoven and Schubert were the composers who chiefly influenced Schumann in the formation of his style - the grandeur and elevated sublimity of the one, and the tender dreamy fancy of the other having had greater charms for Schumann than the more definite forms of beauty, and more regularly proportioned and symmetrical arrangement of details that characterised the music of Mozart.’ ‘The “Abendlied,” [by Schumann] an adaptation of one of Schubert’s “lieder,” pleased so much as to be re-demanded.’
10/12/66	TI		CR	nothing of Schuberts			8 Dec 1866 - comments on how Herr Manns, who sticks to the composer’s intentions, gave Schubert’s symphony in C ‘in its integrity’ after it ‘had been curtailed of its fair proportions by no less a musician than Herr Molique, for the New Philharmonic Concerts.’

15/12/66	PMG		CR/CO	Franz Liszt's Soirées de Vienne on waltz themes by Schubert (concert), discusses *Rosamunde*			Commentary on Crystal Palace concerts/CR: no date for last concert. 'Some pieces by Schubert have been produced, the least interesting of which was one of his two overtures in the "Italian style," a work merely serving to show that, though Schubert could do very many things that Rossini never could have accomplished, he could still not write, in the same manner, as compact and neat an overture [...]. On the other hand, the two *entr'actes* and the vocal romance from the music composed for the forgotten drama of "Rosamunde" are among the most exquisite things that Schubert has left.'
15/12/66	BLL		CR	Rondo Brillant in B minor, Op. 70 (D895)	August Willhelmj (violin)		10 Dec 1866
24/12/66	DN		CO	nothing specific			Commentary on Austrian dance music: 'The dance music of Vienna, both in form and execution […] [is] well worth the notice of an educated ear. Some of the greatest musicians who have resided in the Imperial city have stooped to this branch of composition. Hummel and Schubert did not disdain to play waltzes and quadrilles while their friends danced.'

APPENDIX 4: QUEEN VICTORIA'S STATE CONCERTS AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE WITH PIECES BY SCHUBERT

Source: Michael Joe Budds, Music at the Court of Queen Victoria: A study of music in the life of the queen and her participation in the musical life of her time [Volumes I-III].

Titles of works given in language printed (standardizations made). Some unexpected titles may appear in the context of Schubert's name, which have been left as according to the original source. Original German titles given in brackets where possible.

Date - d/m/y (1800s)	**Piece**	**Singer(s)**
08/08/41	'Jusqu' à toi' ['Ständchen']	Conte di Candia Mario
17/05/41	'La douce paix' from *L'Attente* [possibly 'Du bist die Ruh']	Conte di Candia Mario
30/06/41	Mélodies de Schubert	Conte di Candia Mario
20/05/42	'L'eloge des larmes' ['Lob der Tränen']	Conte di Candia Mario
07/07/43	Aria [unspecified]	Conte di Candia Mario
03/05/47	'Le Secret' ['Geheimes']	Conte di Candia Mario
28/05/47	'Ave Maria'	Jenny Lind
28/05/47	'Der Erlkönig'	Joseph Staudigl
04/06/52	'Jusqu' à toi' ['Ständchen']	Conte di Candia Mario
04/06/52	'La douce paix' from *L'Attente* ['Du bist die Ruh']	Conte di Candia Mario
03/06/53	'Auf einen Totenacker' from *Das Wirthaus*	Karl Formes
06/07/53	'Ne figli siam dell'onde' from *I Gondolieri* [possibly 'Gondelfahrer']	Italo Gardoni, Lucchesi, Giovanni Belletti, Theodore Formes

08/05/54	'Voici l'instant suprême' from *L'Addio* ['Adieu'; see above]	Jeanne Sophie Charlotte Cruvelli
08/05/54	'Ne figli siam dell'onde' from *I Gondolieri* [possibly 'Gondelfahrer']	Lucchesi, Alexander Reichardt, Ronconi [one of three brothers, Felice, Giorgio or Sebastiano], Theodore Formes
09/05/60	'Tu sei il pensier' from *L'Aspettazione* [possibly 'Die Erwartung']	Antonio Giuglini
11/05/70	'Dis le moi' ['Die vier Weltalter']	Zelia Trebelli-Bettini
26/05/82	'Shepherds' Chorus' from *Rosamunde*	chorus
26/05/82	'Leise flehen meine Lieder', arr. Cusins ['Ständchen']	Christine Nilsson
01/07/92	'Gott in der Natur', arr. Cusins	chorus (women only)
09/07/94	'Shepherds' Chorus' from *Rosamunde*	chorus
28/05/97	'Die Allmacht'	Emma Eames

APPENDIX 5: QUEEN VICTORIA'S COMMAND PERFORMANCES & OTHER MUSIC OCCASIONS WITH PIECES BY SCHUBERT

Source: Michael Joe Budds, Music at the Court of Queen Victoria: A study of music in the life of the queen and her participation in the musical life of her time [Volumes I-III].

Performers are singers unless otherwise stated.

Titles of works given in language printed (standardizations made). Some unexpected titles may appear in the context of Schubert's name, which have been left as according to the original source. Original German titles given in brackets where possible.

Date - d/m/y (1800s)	Piece	Soloist(s)/Groups	Place of Concert
26/05/41	'Erlkönig'	Joseph Staudigl	Buckingham Palace
01/07/41	'Der Wanderer'	Joseph Staudigl	Buckingham Palace
14/06/43	'Aufenthalt'	Joseph Staudigl	Buckingham Palace
09/08/43	'Jusqu' à toi' ['Ständchen']	Conte di Candia Mario	Windsor Castle
30/06/47	'Der Neugierige'	Jenny Lind	Buckingham Palace
30/06/47	'Der Müller und der Bach'	Jenny Lind	Buckingham Palace
16/01/49	'Am Meer'	Jenny Lind	Windsor Castle
04/05/49	'Fête de Chasseurs'	Band of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards	Buckingham Palace
06/05/49	'Trockne Blumen'	Jetty de Treffz	Buckingham Palace
19/02/50	'Fête de Chasseurs'	Band of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards	Buckingham Palace
04/08/52	'Das Wirtshaus'	Karl Formes	Osborne House
04/08/52	'Der Neugierige'	Theodore Formes	Osborne House

04/08/52	'Die Krähe'	Karl Formes	Osborne House
26/08/52	'Wie anders, Gretchen war dirs' from *Faust* [possibly 'Gretchen am Spinnrade']	Anna Zerr, Jeanne Anaïs Castellan, Italo Gardoni, Karl Formes	Osborne House
21/01/53	'La Poste' ['Die Post']	Band of the 2nd Life Guards	Windsor Castle
29/01/53	'Der Wanderer'	Band of the 2nd Life Guards	Windsor Castle
24/05/53	'Les Regrets'	Italo Gardoni	Osborne House
24/05/53	'Frühlingsglaube'	Karl Formes	Osborne House
31/05/53	'Serenade' ['Ständchen']	Coldstream Guards	Buckingham Palace
17/06/53	Quadrille, 'La Poste'	Band of the 2nd Life Guards	Buckingham Palace
02/07/53	'Les Plaintes'	Italo Gardoni	Buckingham Palace
12/01/54	'Ungeduld'	Band of the 1st Life Guards	Windsor Castle
12/01/54	'Erlkönig'	Band of the 1st Life Guards	Windsor Castle
20/06/54	'Filles de Marbre' (polka)	Quadrille Band	Buckingham Palace
20/04/55	'Nel figli siam dell'onde' from *I Gondolieri* [possibly 'Gondelfahrer']	Italo Gardoni, Lucchesi, Willoughby Hunter Weiss, Theodore Formes	Buckingham Palace
30/05/56	'La Truite' ['Die Forelle'] for piano transcribed by Herr Otto Goldschmidt	Unclear	Buckingham Palace
10/06/56	'Der Kreuzzug'	Victor Freiherr von Rokitansky	Windsor Castle
02/06/57	'Leise flehen meine Lieder durch die Nacht zu dir' ['Ständchen', Rellstab]	Euphrosyne Parepa-Rosa	Osborne House
15/05/58	'Hark! The Lark at Heaven's Gate Sings' ['Ständchen' - Shakespeare]	Adelaide Kemble	Buckingham Palace
15/05/58	'Who is Sylvia' ['An Silvia']	Adelaide Kemble	Buckingham Palace

20/06/60	'La douce paix' from *L'Attente* [possibly 'Du bist die Ruh']	Conte di Candia Mario	Apsley House
02/11/61	nothing specific - March	Her Majesty's Private Band	Windsor Castle
04/07/66	nothing specific - March	Her Majesty's Private Band	unclear, probably Windsor Castle

Select Command Performances & Other Music Occasions with pieces by Schubert, 1867-1900			
11/11/68	Valses	Agnes Zimmerman (pianoforte)	Windsor Castle
14/04/86	Marche Militaire	Band of the Royal Marines	Osborne House
02/07/91	Transcription of 'Der Erlkönig' by Liszt	Ignace Jan Paderewski (pianoforte)	Windsor Castle
02/10/91	Rondo in B minor, D895 (Op. 70)	Martin Meliton Sarasate (violin), Berthe Marx (pianoforte)	Balmoral Castle

APPENDIX 6: SCHUBERT'S MUSIC HOUSED IN THE ROYAL MUSIC LIBRARY

Source: William Barclay Squire, Catalogue of the King's Music Library, part III: Printed Music and Musical Literature (London: William Clowes and Sons, Ltd, 1929) and The Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Royal Music Collection (British Library, 2001).

Title	Publisher	Place of Publication	Date	Call Number
'Alinde', 'An die Laute', 'Zur guten Nacht' ...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Tobias Haslinger	Wien	1827	R.M.10.i.2.(8.)
'Das Heimweh', 'Die Allmacht'...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Tobias Haslinger	Wien	1827	R.M.10.i.2.(7.)
'L'Incanto degli occhi', 'Il traditor deluso', 'Il modo di prender moglie'...für eine Bass-Stimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Tobias Haslinger	Wien	1827	R.M.10.i.2.(9.)
'Elysium'...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1830?	R.M.10.i.1.(2.)
'Der Hirt auf dem Felsen' ...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte und der Clarinette, oder des Violoncello	Tobias Haslinger	Wien	1830	R.M.10.h.4.(5.)
'Im Walde und Auf der Brücke'...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1830?	R.M.10.h.4.(19.)
'Ossian's Gesänge'...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1830?	R.M.10.i.1.(1.)
'Le Désir' in *Les Favorites de Londres* ['Sehnsucht']	Wessel & Co	London	1835?	R.M.25.i.4.(9.)
'Le Roi des Aulnes (Erlkönig)' (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Richault	Paris	1835?	R.M.14.b.7.(20.)
'Die Bürgschaft'...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1835?	R.M.10.i.1.(4.)

8 Geistliche Lieder: ‘Dem Unendlichen’, ‘Die Gestirne’ ‘Das Marienbild’, ‘Vom Mitleiden Mariä’, ‘Litaney auf das Fest aller Seelen’, ‘Pax vobiscum’, ‘Gebeth während der Schlacht’, ‘Himmelsfunken’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1835?	R.M.10.i.1.(6.)
‘Das Lied im Grünen’, ‘Wonne der Wehmuth’, ‘Sprache der Liebe’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1835?	R.M.10.h.4.(37.)
‘Orest auf Tauris’, ‘Der entsühnte Orest’, ‘Philoctet’, ‘Freiwilliges Versinken’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1835?	R.M.10.i.1.(7.)
‘Des Sängers Habe’, ‘Hippolits Lied’, ‘Abendröte’, ‘Ständchen’ [Shakespeare]...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1835?	R.M.10.i.1.(3.)
‘Die Sterne’ [Schober], ‘Jägers Liebeslied’, ‘Wanderers Nachtlied’, ‘Fischerweise’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1835?	R.M.10.h.4.(27.)
‘Der Taucher’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1835?	R.M.10.i.1.(8.)
‘Die Unterscheidung’, ‘Bei dir’, ‘Die Männer sind mechant’, ‘Irdisches Glück’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1835?	R.M.10.h.4.(22.)
‘Der zürnende Barde’, ‘Am See’, ‘Abendbilder’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1835?	R.M.10.i.1.(5.)
‘Todes-Musik’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C.A. Spina	Wien	1837	R.M.10.h.5.(15.)
‘L’Addio’ [‘Adieu’; see above] (Parole di N. Di Santo Mango)	C. Lonsdale	London	1840?	R.M.14.b.4.(10.)
‘Schwanengesang’, No. 4 (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Richault	Paris	1840	R.M.14.b.9.(9.)
Grande Marche funèbre, Op. 55 (D859)	Chez A. Diabelli et Comp.	Vienna	1840?	R.M.26.c.9.(1.)

Grande Marche heroique, Op. 66 (D885)	Chez A. Diabelli et Comp.	Vienna	1840?	R.M.26.c.9.(2.)
'An mein Herz', 'Der liebliche Stern' ...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1840?	R.M.10.i.1.(9.)
'Der Blumenbrief', 'Vergiss mein nicht'...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1840?	R.M.10.i.2.(3.)
'Grenzen der Menschheit' Fragment aus dem Aeschylus...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1840?	R.M.10.i.1.(10.)
'Im Abendrot', 'Mignons Gesang'...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1840?	R.M.10.i.2.(2.)
'Lebensmuth', 'Der Vater mit dem Kind', 'An den Tod', 'Verklärung'...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1840?	R.M.10.i.1.(13.)
'Orpheus', 'Ritter Toggenburg'...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1840?	R.M.10.i.2.(1.)
'Pilgerweise', 'An den Mond in einer Herbstnacht', 'Fahrt zum Hades'...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1840?	R.M.10.i.1.(14.)
'Schiffers Scheidelied', 'Todtengräbers Heimweh'...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1840?	R.M.10.i.2.(6.)
'Schwanengesang'. Deutsch und französisch...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Tobias Haslinger	Wien	1840	R.M.10.h.3.(2.)
'Schwestergruss', 'Liedesend'...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1840?	R.M.10.i.2.(5.)
'Der Sieg', 'Atys', 'Beim Winde', 'Abendstern'...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1840?	R.M.10.i.2.(4.)
'Waldesnacht'...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1840	R.M.10.i.1.(12.)

‘Der Wanderer an den Mond’, ‘Das Zügenglöcklein’, ‘Im Freyen’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Tobias Haslinger	Wien	1840?	R.M.10.h.5.(11.)
‘Widerschein’, ‘Liebeslauschen’, ‘Todtengräber-Weise’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1840?	R.M.10.i.1.(11.)
‘Winterreise’. Deutsch und französisch...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Tobias Haslinger	Wien	1840?	R.M.10.h.3.(1.)
Songs of Schubert, Fifth Series, the poetry by Thos. Oliphant	Cramer, Addison & Beale	London	1842	R.M.13.f.27.(2.)
‘Auflösung’, ‘Blondel zu Marien’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1843?	R.M.10.i.3.(3.)
‘Die schöne Müllerin’, No. 8	Hornemann und Erslev	Copenhagen	1845?	R.M.10.h.6.(11.)
Vier Lieder. ‘Im Frühling’, ‘Der blinde Knabe’, ‘Trost im Liede’, ‘Wanderers Nachtlied’, mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Fr. Kistner	Leipzig	1845?	R.M.10.i.3.(20.)
Lieder, Gesänge und Balladen...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte. 29 nos.	A. V. Witzendorf	Wien	1845?	R.M.10.i.4.(1.)
‘Als ich sie erröthen sah’, ‘Das war ich’, ‘Ins stille Land’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1845?	R.M.10.i.3.(8.)
‘Die Bethende’, ‘Der Geistertanz’, ‘An Laura’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1845?	R.M.10.i.2.(16.)
‘Die Einsamkeit’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1845?	R.M.10.i.3.(1.)
‘Die Einsiedeley’, ‘Lebenslied’, ‘Versunken’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1845?	R.M.10.i.3.(7.)

‘Die erste Liebe’, ‘Lied eines Kriegers’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1845?	R.M.10.i.3.(4.)
‘Fülle der Liebe’, ‘Im Frühling’, ‘Trost in Tränen’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1845?	R.M.10.i.2.(10.)
Vier Gedichte von J.G. Seidl...No. 3: ‘Am Fenster’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	A. O. Witzendorf	Wien	1845?	R.M.10.i.4.(2.)
Drei Gedichte: ‘An die Freude’, ‘Lebens-Melodien’, ‘Die vier Weltalter’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	A. O. Witzendorf	Wien	1845?	R.M.10.i.4.(3.)
‘Heliopolis’, ‘Sehnsucht’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1845?	R.M.10.i.3.(6.)
‘Hermann und Thusnelda’, ‘Selma und Selmar’, ‘Das Rosenband’, ‘Edone’, ‘Die frühen Gräber’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1845?	R.M.10.i.2.(13.)
‘Der Jüngling an der Quelle’, ‘Lambertine’, ‘Ihr Grab’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1845	R.M.10.i.3.(5.)
‘Das Mädchen’, ‘Bertha’s Lied in der Nacht’ [‘Bertas Lied in der Nacht’], ‘An die Freunde’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1845?	R.M.10.i.3.(9.)
‘Der Schiffer’ [Schlegel], ‘Die gefangenen Sänger’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1845?	R.M.10.i.3.(2.)
‘Stimme der Liebe’, ‘Die Mutter Erde’, ‘Gretchens Bitte’, ‘Abschied in das Stambuch eines Freundes’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1845?	R.M.10.i.2.(14.)
‘Der Wallensteiner Lanzknecht beim Trunk’, ‘Der Kreuzzug’, ‘Des Fischers Liebesglück’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1845?	R.M.10.i.1.(2.)
‘Der Winterabend’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1845?	R.M.10.i.2.(11.)
‘When thy sweet Lips (Heimliches Lieben)’ for voice and piano, ed. F.B. Jewson	Royal German and British Musical	London	1850?	R.M.25.c.10.(3.)

	Society			
‘Yes, rocked in that Cradle (Vor meiner Wiege)’...for Voice and Piano, ed. F.B. Jweson	Royal German and British Musical Society	London	1850?	R.M.25.c.10.(4.)
‘Now all is hushed (Der Winterabend)’...for Voice and Piano, ed. F.B. Jewson	Royal German and British Musical Society	London	1850?	R.M.25.c.10.(2.)
‘Abendlied für die Entfernte’, ‘Thekla’, ‘Um Mitternacht’, ‘An die Musik’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des pianoforte...Op. 88. Neue Ausgabe (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1850?	R.M.10.h.5.(18.)
‘An die Apfelbäume, wo ich Julien erblickte’, ‘Der Leidende’, ‘Augenlied’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1850?	R.M.10.i.3.(19.)
‘An die untergehende Sonne’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1850?	R.M.10.h.5.(5.)
‘Auf der Riesenkoppe’, ‘Auf einen Kirchhof’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1850?	R.M.10.i.3.(18.)
‘Drang in die Ferne’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1850?	R.M.10.h.5.(10.)
‘Epistel Musikalischer Schwank’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1850?	R.M.10.i.3.(15.)
Fragment aus dem Gedichte: ‘Die Götter Griechenlands’, ‘Das Finden’, ‘Cora an die Sonne’, ‘Grablied’, ‘Adelaide’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1850?	R.M.10.i.3.(11.)
‘Frohsinn’, ‘Trinklied’, ‘Klage um Ali Bey’, ‘Der Morgenkuss’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1850?	R.M.10.i.3.(14.)

‘Gesänge aus Wilhelm Meister’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1850?	R.M.10.h.6.(39.)
‘Im gegenwärtigen Vergangenes’...für 2 Tenore und 2 Bässe mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1850?	R.M.10.i.3.(12.)
‘Licht und Liebe’, ‘Das grosse Halleluja’...für Gesang und Piano	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1850?	R.M.10.i.3.(10.)
‘Die Liebende schreibt’ [Liederkranz, Op. 165, No. 1]	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1850?	R.M.10.h.4.(7.)
‘Prometheus’, ‘Wer Kauft Liebesgötter?’, ‘Der Rattenfänger’, ‘Nachtgesang’, ‘An den Mond’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1850?	R.M.10.i.3.(16.)
‘Romance des Richard Löwenherz’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1850?	R.M.10.h.5.(12.)
‘Die Sterne’ [Schlegel], ‘Erndtelied’, ‘Klage’, ‘Trinklied’, ‘Mignon’, ‘Der Goldschmiedsgesell’, ‘Tischlerlied’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1850?	R.M.10.i.3.(17.)
‘Trost’, ‘Die Nacht’, ‘Zum Punsche’, ‘Das Leben’...für Gesang und Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1850?	R.M.10.i.3.(13.)
‘Willkommen und Abschied’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1850?	R.M.10.h.6.(32.)
3 Marches héroiques, Op. 27 (D602), pour le Pianoforte à quatre mains	Schott & Co	London	1855?	R.M.10.h.2.(1.)
Six Grandes Marches et Trios, Op. 40 (D819), pour Piano à quatre mains	Schott & Co	London	1855?	R.M.10.h.2.(2.)
Deux Marches caractéristiques, Op. 121 (D968b, formerlly 886), à quatre mains pour le Piano	Schott & Co	London	1855?	R.M.10.h.2.(4.)
‘Dass sie hier gewesen’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1855?	R.M.10.h.6.(37.)

‘Der Schäfer und der Reiter’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1855?	R.M.10.h.6.(15.)
‘Der Schiffer’ [Mayrhofer]	C. A. Spina	Wien	1855?	R.M.10.h.6.(21.)
Variationen für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen, Op. 82, No. 1	Schuberth & Co	Leipzig & New York	1860?	R.M.26.h.10.(1.)
Trois Marches militaires, Op. 51 (D733), à quatre mains pour le Piano	Les Fils de B. Schott	Mayence	1860?	R.M.10.h.2.(3.)
‘Iphigenia’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1860?	R.M.10.h.4.(31.)
Romanze aus dem Drama [‘Der Vollmond strahlt’]: Rosamunde, Op. 26 (D797)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1860?	R.M.10.h.5.(2.)
‘Schwanengesang’, No. 3	C. A. Spina	Wien	1860?	R.M.10.h.5.(41.)
‘Die Sternennächte’ [Liederkranz, Op. 165, No. 2]	C. A. Spina	Wien	1862	R.M.10.h.4.(9.)
‘Das Bild’ [Liederkranz, Op. 165, No. 3]	C. A. Spina	Wien	1862	R.M.10.h.4.(8.)
‘Die Täuschung’ [Liederkranz, Op. 165, No. 4]	C. A. Spina	Wien	1862	R.M.10.h.4.(11.)
Symphony [No. 7, in C] für Orchester, für das Pianoforte zu vier Hänen arrangirt	Breitkopf & Härtel	Leipzig	1865?	R.M.26.c.9.(3.)
Grosse Messe in Es für Chor und Orchestr [Full Score]	J. Rieter-Biedermann	Leipzig & Winterthur	1865	R.M.14.e.25
Schubert’s Andantino varié, No. 1, Op. 84, as a Duet for the Pianoforte...ed. C. Hallé	Chappell & Co	London	1865	R.M.26.h.9.(6.)
Schubert’s 3 Heroic Marches,Op. 27 (D602), as Duets for the Pianoforte, ed. C. Hallé	Chappell & Co	London	1865	R.M.26.h.9.(3.)
Schubert’s Six Grand Marches, Op. 40 (D819), as Duets for the Pianoforte, ed. C. Hallé	Chappell & Co	London	1865	R.M.26.h.9.(2.)

Schubert's 3 Marches militaires, Op. 51 (D733), as Duets for the Pianoforte, ed. C. Hallé	Chappell & Co	London	1865	R.M.26.h.9.(9.)
Schubert's Two Characteristic Marches, Op. 121 (D968b, formerly 886), as Duets for the Pianoforte, ed. C. Hallé	Chappell & Co	London	1865	R.M.26.h.9.(7.)
'L'Addio' ['Adieu'; see above] (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	B. Schott's Söhne	Mainz	1865?	R.M.10.h.4.(15.)
40 Mélodies choisies, avec Accompt. de Piano...avec les paroles allemandes...et une traduction française de Maurice Bourges et de Émile Deschamps	Brandus et Cie	Paris	1865?	R.M.8.e.6.
'An die Leyer' (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1865?	R.M.10.h.6.(33.)
'Auf der Donau'	C. A. Spina	Wien	1865	R.M.10.h.5.(37.)
'Du liebst mich nicht' (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1865	R.M.10.h.6.(36.)
'Ellens Gesang 1'	C. A. Spina	Wien	1865	R.M.10.h.6.(30.)
'Der Flug der Zeit' (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1865?	R.M.10.h.5.(27.)
'Geheimes' [Goethe] (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1865	R.M.10.h.5.(33.)
'Gesänge des Harfners aus Wilhelm Meister, No. 3' (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1865	R.M.10.h.5.(31.)
'Heimliches Lieben' (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1865	R.M.10.h.4.(33.)

‘Hektors Abschied’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1865	R.M.10.h.6.(34.)
‘Im Haine’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1865	R.M.10.h.5.(7.)
‘Jägers Abendlied’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1865	R.M.10.h.6.(2.)
‘Die Liebe hat gelogen’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1865	R.M.10.h.5.(40.)
‘Norman’s Gesang’	C. A. Spina	Wien	1865	R.M.10.h.6.(31.)
‘Die abgeblühte Linde’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1866	R.M.10.h.6.(9.)
‘Lied der Anne Lyle’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1866	R.M.10.h.6.(40.)
Sechs Lieder, Op. 172, für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte [‘Der Traum’, ‘Die Laube’, ‘An die Nachtigall’, ‘Das Sehen’, ‘An den Frühling’, ‘Die Vögel’]	C. A. Spina	Wien	1866	R.M.10.h.4.(12.)
Sechs Lieder, Op. 173, für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte [‘Amalia’, ‘Das Geheimnis’, ‘Vergebliche Liebe’, ‘Der Blumen Schmerz’, ‘Die Blumensprache’, ‘Das Abendrot’]	C. A. Spina	Wien	1866	R.M.10.h.4.(13.)
Zwei Scenen aus dem Schauspiele: Lacrimas, Op. 124 (D857) (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1866	R.M.14.h.4.(4.)
‘Wie Ulfru fischt’	C. A. Spina	Wien	1866	R.M.10.h.6.(22.)
Schubert’s Fantasia, Op. 103, as a Duet for the Pianoforte...ed. C. Hallé	Chappell & Co	London	1867	R.M.26.h.9.(1.)
Schubert’s Rondo, Op. 138 (D608), as a Duet for the Pianoforte, ed. C. Hallé	Chappell & Co	London	1867	R.M.26.h.9.(8.)

‘Der Alpenjäger’	C. A. Spina	Wien	1867	R.M.10.h.5.(32.)
‘Am Strome’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1867	R.M.10.h.6.(13.)
‘Emma’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1867	R.M.10.h.5.(8.)
‘Erinnerung’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1867	R.M.10.h.5.(14.)
‘Ganymed’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1867	R.M.10.h.5.(35.)
‘Die Hoffnung’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1867	R.M.10.h.5.(17.)
‘Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1867	R.M.10.h.5.(28.)
‘Meeresstille’	C. A. Spina	Wien	1867	R.M.10.h.6.(3.)
‘Selige Welt’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1867	R.M.10.h.5.(39.)
‘Der Unglückliche’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1867	R.M.10.h.5.(13.)
‘Die Unterscheidung’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1867	R.M.10.h.4.(21.)
‘Wanderers Nachtlied’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1867	R.M.10.h.6.(5.)
Sechs bisher ungedruckte Lieder.... Nach der in der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin verhandenen Original-Handschrift herausgegeben.	Wilhelm Müller	Berlin	1868	R.M.10.i.4.(5.)

Schubert's Lebensstürme...as a Duet for the Pianoforte...ed. C. Hallé [Allegro in A minor, 'Lebensstürme', Op. 144 (D947)]	Chappell & Co	London	1868	R.M.26.h.9.(4.)
Schubert's Grand Rondo, Op. 107 (D951) as a Duet for the Pianoforte, ed. C. Hallé	Chappell & Co	London	1868	R.M.26.h.9.(5.)
'Auf dem See' (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1868	R.M.10.h.5.(20.)
'Gesänge des Harfners aus Wilhelm Meister, No. 1' (Paroles françaises de Mr D.P.)	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1868	R.M.10.h.6.(30.)
'Rastlose Liebe' (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1868	R.M.10.h.5.(24.)
'Sei mir gegrüsst' (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1868	R.M.10.h.5.(34.)
'Viola' (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1868	R.M.10.h.4.(3.)
'Lied des gefangenen Jägers'	C. A. Spina	Wien	1869	R.M.10.h.5.(6.)
'An Mignon' (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1870	R.M.10.h.6.(19.)
'Lob der Tränen'	C. A. Spina	Wien	1870	R.M.10.h.6.(16.)
'Schäfers Klagelied'	C. A. Spina	Wien	1870	R.M.10.h.6.(1.)
5 Canti per una sola voce con Accompagnamento di Pianoforte	J.P.Gotthard	Vienna	1871	R.M.10.h.4.(16)
'Mignon'...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	J.P.Gotthard	Wien	1871	R.M.14.h.4.(14.)
'Der Musensohn' (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1871	R.M.10.h.5.(19.)

‘Nacht und Träume’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1871	R.M.10.h.6.(29.)
‘Nähe des Geliebten’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1871	R.M.10.h.5.(23.)
‘Der Wachtelschlag’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1871	R.M.10.h.5.(9.)
‘An die Nachtigall’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1872?	R.M.10.h.4.(29.)
‘Auf dem Strom’ (Mit Horn oder Violoncello) (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1872?	R.M.10.h.4.(2.)
‘Der blinde Knabe’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1872?	R.M.10.h.4.(32.)
‘Das Echo’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1872?	R.M.10.h.4.(6.)
‘Erlkönig’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1872?	R.M.10.h.4.(17.)
‘Die Erwartung’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1872?	R.M.10.h.4.(1.)
‘Die Forelle’	C. A. Spina	Wien	1872	R.M.10.h.6.(28.)
‘Geistesgruss’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1872?	R.M.10.h.4.(20.)
‘Glaube, Hoffnung und Liebe’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1872?	R.M.10.h.4.(28.)
‘Gretchen am Spinnrade’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1872?	R.M.10.h.4.(18.)
‘Irdisches’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1872?	R.M.10.h.4.(24.)

‘Eine altschottische Ballade’ [Liederkranz, Op. 165, No. 5]	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1872?	R.M.10.h.4.(10.)
‘Die Männer sind mechant’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1872	R.M.10.h.4.(23.)
‘Die Sehnsucht’ [Schiller] (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1872	R.M.10.h.6.(27.)
‘Die Sterne’ [Leitner] (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1872?	R.M.10.h.4.(25.)
‘Tiefes Leid’, ‘Clärchens Lied aus Egmont’, ‘Grablied für die Mutter’...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Diabelli & Co	Wien	1872	R.M.10.i.2.(15.)
‘Der Tod und das Mädchen’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1872	R.M.10.h.6.(12.)
‘Ueber Wildemann’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1872?	R.M.10.h.4.(36.)
‘Vor meiner Wiege’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1872	R.M.10.h.4.(35.)
‘Wanderers Nachtlied’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1872?	R.M.10.h.4.(26.)
‘Das Weinen’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1872?	R.M.10.h.4.(34.)
‘Wiegenlied’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1872?	R.M.10.h.4.(30.)
‘Lachen und Weinen’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	C. A. Spina	Wien	1872	R.M.10.h.6.(38.)

‘Die schöne Müllerin’, No. 1, 5...für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte	Hornemann und Erslev	Copenhagen	1875?	R.M.10.h.5.(43.)
‘Die schöne Müllerin’, No. 4, 12, 16, 18	Hornemann und Erslev	Copenhagen	1875?	R.M.10.h.5.(1.)
‘Die schöne Müllerin’, No. 6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19	Hornemann und Erslev	Copenhagen	1875?	R.M.10.h.5.(26.)
‘Am Grabe Anselmo’s’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.6.(10.)
‘An den Mond’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.6.(35.)
‘An Schwager Kronos’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.6.(18.)
‘Antigone und Oedip.’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.5.(26.)
‘Der Einsame’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.5.(4.)
‘Erlafsee’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.6.(14.)
‘Erster Verlust’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.6.(7.)
‘Der Fischer’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.6.(6.)
‘Frühlingsglaube’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.6.(20.)
‘Gesang der Norna’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.6.(41.)

‘Gruppe aus dem Tartarus’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.6.(25.)
‘Haidenröslein’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.5.(21.)
‘Hänflings Liebeswerbung’	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.5.(36.)
‘Der Jüngling am Bache’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.5.(16.)
‘Der König in Thule’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.5.(25.)
‘Memnon’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.6.(8.)
‘Morgenlied’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.6.(10.)
‘Schatzgräbers Begehr’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.5.(42.)
‘Schlummerlied’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.6.(24.)
‘Sehnsucht’ [Mayerhofer] (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.5.(29.)
‘Suleika, aus dem westöstlichen Divan’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.6.(17.)
‘Suleika’s 2ter Gesang, aus dem westöstlichen Divan’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.5.(3.)

‘Der Wanderer’ [Lübeck] (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.5.(22.)
‘Wehmuth’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.6.(23.)
‘Der Zwerg’ (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)	Friedrich Schreiber	Wien	1875?	R.M.10.h.5.(38.)
Franz Schubert’s Werke. Kritisch durchgesehene Gesammtausgabe. 21 series.	Breitkopf & Härtel	Leipzig	1885-1897	R.M.10.f.h.1.
‘Die Spinnerin’, ‘Sehnsucht’, ‘Der Liedler’, Op. 38, ‘Widerspruch’, Op. 105, No. 1 (Description: A set of four songs with pianoforte accompaniment in score for four men’s voices)	manuscript	n/a	n/a	R.M.10.i.4.(4.).
‘The Wanderer’ (Description: by J.A. Nüske ‘A collection of vocal melodies, consisting of celebrated airs by the leading foreign and English musicians; the works of each supplying one song; adapted to the guitar, with, relatively, full harmonies in the accompaniment.’ Stamp on cover page: Prince Albert’s Library)	manuscript	n/a	n/a	R.M.21.g.20.
‘Ave Maria’ and ‘Les plaintes de la jeune fille’ (Description: A Victorian collection of 11 vocal pieces with piano accompaniment by various composers)	manuscript	n/a	n/a	R.M.24.l.4.

APPENDIX 7: SCHUBERT'S MUSIC PUBLICATIONS IN ENGLAND, 1850-1866

Key to Source Codes - see previous page

Key to Library Codes:
BL = British Library, RAM = Royal Academy of Music, RCM = Royal College of Music

Titles of works given in language printed (standardizations made). Some unexpected titles may appear in the context of Schubert's name, which have been left as according to the original source. Original German titles are given in brackets where available.

Title(s)	Other contributors	Instrumentation/Notes	Date	Publisher	Language	Source(s)
'Anguish' ['Aufenthalt']	trans. W. Bartholomew	medium voice and piano	c.1850	J.J. Ewer & Co	English	Bodleian Library, Oxford Mus.301 c.212
'Forlorn I track the mountain steep' ['Der Wanderer']	trans. Thomas Oliphant		1850?	Cramer, Beale & Co	English	Leeds Brotherton Collection Room Mus BEL
'Songs and Ballads: No. 3, 4, 6, 13, 15'	trans. Thomas Oliphant		1850	Cramer, Beale & Co	English	BL H.1653.dd. & H.1652.O.(12.)
'The passing bell' ['Zügenglöcklein']	trans. Thomas Oliphant	medium voice and piano	c.1850	Cramer, Beale & Co	English	Bodleian Library, Oxford Mus.301 c.211(3)

‘Weary Flowers their Buds are closing’ [‘Ständchen’]	trans. Thomas Oliphant	high voice and piano	c.1850	Cramer, Beale & Co	English	Bodleian Library, Oxford Mus.301 c.211(2)
‘Serenade’ [‘Ständchen’]	arr. F. Beyer	piano	1850?	John Shepherd	n/a	BL h.3183.g.(8.)
‘Weary Flowers their Buds are closing’ [‘Ständchen’]	song used in Ferdinand Beyer’s (1803-1863) Six morceaux élégants. Op. 90, No. 6	piano	c.1850	Julien & Co	n/a	BL h.722.qq.(12.)
‘Good Morrow’ [‘Morgengruss’]	trans. Thomas Oliphant		1850	R. Addison & Co	English	BL H.1723.(5.)
‘Ave Maria’			1850	Robert Cocks & Co	English; German	DM 25/12/50 01/01/51 08/01/51
‘Now all is hushed’ [‘Der Winterabend’]	ed. F.B. Jewson		1850?	Royal German and British Musical Society	English; German	BL R.M.25.c.10.(2.)
‘When thy sweet Lips’ [‘Heimliches Lieben’]	ed. F.B. Jewson		1850	Royal German and British Musical Society	English; German	BL R.M.25.c.10.(3.)
‘Yes, rocked in that Cradle’ [‘Vor meiner Wiege’]	ed. F.B. Jewson		1850?	Royal German and British Musical Society	English; German	BL R.M.25.c.10.(4.)
‘Spirit of Slumber’ [‘Ave Maria’]	poetry by G.		1850	unknown	English	BL

	Linley					H.1723.(4.)
‘Angel diletto in questo petto’ [‘Sei mir gegrüsst’]	trans. N. di Santo Mango		1850	unknown	French; Italian	BL H.1723.(6.)
‘ ’Tis Sport I love so dearly’ [‘Der Schmetterling’]	trans. and arr. by J. Rhing		1850	Wessel & Co	English; German	BL H.2076
‘The Spring’s mild breezes’ [‘Frühlingsglaube’]	trans F.W. Rosier or L. Wray		1850	Wessel & Co	English; German	BL H.2072
‘Ah! from out this vale’s recesses’ [‘Die Sehnsucht’]	trans. F. W. Rosier		1850	Wessel & Co	English; German	BL H.2078
‘The mighty trees bend’ [‘Die junge Nonne’]	trans. F.W. Rosier.		1850?	Wessel & Co	English; German	BL H.2076
‘As o’er the Alps he Ranges’ [‘Der Alpenjäger’]	trans. L. Wray		1850	Wessel & Co	English	BL H.2078
‘Ha! He’s coming’ [‘Hermann und Thusnelda’]	trans. L. Wray		1850	Wessel & Co	English; German	BL H.2076
‘Oh leave th’inconstant water’ [‘Das Fischermädchen’]	trans. L. Wray		1850	Wessel & Co	English; French; German	BL H.2078
‘Hark, hark the lark’ [‘Ständchen’]			185-?	D’Almaine	English; German	Leeds Brotherton Collection Room Mus BEL
‘The praise of tears’ [‘Lob der Tränen’]	arr. Franz Liszt	piano	1850-1900	Ashdowne?	n/a	RCM Pf
‘Hark, hark the lark’ [‘Ständchen’]			1851	unknown	English	BL H.2156.(27.)

Melodies of Franz Schubert: 'The Barcarole' and 'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	arr. Franz Liszt	piano	1852	R. Addison & Co	n/a	BL h.895.(5.)
'Ständchen varié pour le Piano'	Charles Voss (1815-1882)	piano	1852	unknown	n/a	BL h.772.(14.)
'Lob der Thränen varié pour le Piano'	Charles Voss (1815-1882)	piano	1852	unknown	n/a	BL h.772.(17.)
'Who is Sylvia?' ['An Silvia']			1852	unknown	English; German	BL H.1766.(17.)
Soirées de Vienne, Valses-Caprices d'après F. Schubert	Franz Liszt		1852	Wessel & Co	n/a	BL h.895.(1.)
'Murmuring Brooklet' ['Liebesbotschaft']	trans. P. Inchbald		1852	Wessel & Co	English; German	BL H.2082
nothing specific - songs, duets, dance music, instrumental, etc.			1852	Wybrow	Unspecified	TI 08/01/52 11/02/52 MT 21/02/52 28/02/52 27/03/52
nothing specific			1853	J. Barrett	Unspecified	TI 26/05/53 13/06/53
'Ständchen' and 'Lob der Tränen'			1853	Robert Cocks & Co	Unspecified	MC 27/01/53 MT 19/03/53

‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	trans. C.H. Purday		1853	unknown	English; German	BL H.2156.(29.)
‘La visione’ [‘Wanderers Nachtlied’]	trans. M. Maggioni		1853	unknown	Italian	BL H.2156.(28.)
‘Thekla’ [‘Eine Geisternstimme (2)’]			1853	unknown	English; German	RAM Rare Books MS 429 & Microfilm RP44
‘Le Désir’ [‘Sehnsucht’]	arr. H. Schubert	piano	1854	H. White	n/a	BL h.723.s.(27.)
Psalm XXIII (D706)		For SSAA and piano; vocal parts only	1854?	Augener & Co	English	RCM D1293/25 & XXV.B.12(10) & University Library, Anderson Room, Cambridge A1986.546
Psalm XXIII (D706)		For SSAA	1854	Unknown	English	BL H.1185.(13.)
‘Serenade’ [‘Ständchen’]	arr. F. Beyer	piano	1854	R. Addison & Co	n/a	BL h.812.(20.)

‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]			1855	C. Sheard	English; German	BL H.2345/123
‘The Erl King’ [‘Erlkönig’]			1855	C. Sheard	English; German	BL H.2345./119-120
‘Sonates et rondeau brillant pour piano et violon’ Contents: 1. Rondeau brillant in B minor, Op. 70 (D895), 2. Sonata in D major, No. 1, Op. 137 (D384), 3. Sonata in A minor, No. 2, Op. 137 (D385) 4. Sonata in G minor, No. 3, Op. 127 (D408)			1855?	Enoch & Sons	n/a	Glasgow Sp Coll Farmer f66 & f67
‘A Wanderer here my Footsteps roam’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	trans. Edd Mordaunt Spencer		c.1855	John Shepherd	English; German	BL H.2150.u.(2.)
‘In every blooming flower’ [‘Ungeduld’]			1855	Musical Bouquet Office	English; German	BL H.2345./126
‘Who is Sylvia?’ [‘An Silvia’]			c.1855	R. Mills	English; German	BL H.2150.s.(1.)
Six Grandes Marches et Trios, Op. 40 (D819), pour Piano à quatre mains			1855?	Schott & Co	n/a	BL R.M.10.h.2.(2.)
3 Marches héroiques, Op. 27 (D602), pour le Pianoforte à quatre mains			1855?	Schott & Co	n/a	BL R.M.10.h.2.(1.)

Deux Marches caractéristiques, Op. 121 (D968b, formerly 886), à quatre mains pour le Piano			1855?	Schott & Co	n/a	BL R.M.10.h.2.(4.)
Two songs by F. Schubert for the pianoforte. No. 1 'Who rides by night' ['Erlkönig'] No. 2 'Cooling Zephyrs' ['Ständchen']	arr. Franz Liszt	piano	1855	unknown	n/a	BL h.585.(6.)
'Who is Sylvia?' ['An Silvia']	arr. H.R. Binfield		1855	Wheatstone & Co	English	BL H.2828.c.(12.)
'Hark, hark the lark' ['Ständchen']			1856	unknown	English	BL H.2342./33
'Who is Sylvia?' ['An Silvia']			1856	unknown	English	BL H.2342./151
'The triumvirate or homage to Schubert No. 21 "Lieder ohn worte" or "songs without words" '	Stephen Heller (1813-1888)		1856-1860	Wessel & Co	English	RCM D993/15
'I heard a Streamlet gushing' ['Wohin?']	arr. T. Oesten	piano	1857	Robert Cocks & Co	n/a	BL h.699.q.(18.)
'To wander is the Miller's joy' ['Das Wandern']	arr. T. Oesten	piano	1857	Robert Cocks & Co	n/a	BL h.699.q.(20.)
'The Butterfly' ['Der Schmetterling']			1857	Robert Cocks & Co	Unspecified	TI 30/10/57
'Serenade' ['Ständchen']	arr. G. A. Osborne	piano	1857	unknown	n/a	BL h.644.(34.)

‘The Butterfly’ [‘Der Schmetterling’]	arr. T. Oesten	piano	1857	unknown	English	BL h.699.q.(21.)
‘The Trout’ [‘Die Forelle’]	arr. T. Oesten	piano	1857	unknown	n/a	BL h.699.q.(19.)
‘Ave Maria’			1858	Duff & Hodgson	English; German	BL H.2071.(4.)
‘Daphne’ [‘An eine Quelle’]			1858	Duff & Hodgson	Unspecified	BL H.2071.(50.)
‘Gentle Zephyrs’ [‘Ständchen’]			1858	Duff & Hodgson	English; German	BL H.2071.(8.)
‘Hark, hark the lark’ [‘Ständchen’]			1858	Duff & Hodgson	English; German	BL H.2071.(2.)
‘Know’st thou the Land?’ [‘Kennst du das Land?’]			1858	Duff & Hodgson	English; German	BL H.2071.(7.)
‘The Adieu’ [‘Adieu’; see above]			1858	Duff & Hodgson	English; Italian	BL H.2071.(6.)
‘The Erl King’ [‘Erlkönig’]			1858	Duff & Hodgson	English; German	BL H.2071.(19.)
‘The Fisher’s Lovely Daughter’ [‘Das Fischermädchen’]			1858	Duff & Hodgson	English; German	BL H.2071.(10.)
‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]			1858	Duff & Hodgson	English	BL H.2071.(1.)
‘The Butterfly’ [‘Der Schmetterling’]			1858	Duff & Hodgson	English; German	BL H.2071.(15.)
‘Thy Name I trace on ev’ry greenwood Tree’ [‘Ungeduld’]			1858	Duff & Hodgson	English	BL H.2071.(5.)
‘Zephyrs playing mid the Roses’ [‘Lob der Tränen’]			1858	Duff & Hodgson	English	BL H.2071.(19.)

‘Adieu’ in ‘Dernière idée de Franz Schubert’	arr. C.A. Caspar	piano	1858	Robert Cocks & Co	n/a	BL h.1251.(5.)
Kuhe’s Transcriptions of Schubert’s songs	Wilhelm Kuhe (1823-1912)		1858	unknown	n/a	BL h.489.(1.)
La Belle Venese Waltzes			1858	Z.T. Purday	Unspecified	TI 11/02/58
‘Dein ist mein Herz’ [‘Ungeduld’]	arr. J.T. Stone	piano	1859	D’Almaine & Co.	Unspecified	JB 05/11/59 LWN 06/11/59 ER 13/11/59
‘Ave Maria’			1859	unknown	English	BL H.1771.q.(8.)
‘Le Roi de Aulnes’ [‘Erlkönig’]	arr. Franz Liszt	piano	1860	Addison & Hodson	n/a	BL h.726.n.(13.)
Impromptu in A flat major, No. 2, Op. 142 (D935)		“Played by Mr Charles Hallé” - t.p.	1860?	Ashdown & Parry	n/a	Main Library, Special Collections, Birmingham M24.s36
‘A Collection of Vocal and Pianoforte Music’ - 12 songs including ‘Erlkönig’			1860	Boosey & Sons	Unspecified	DN 21/12/60 11/01/61 BLL 03/02/61 ER 03/02/61

nothing specific - songs			1860	Boosey & Sons	English	TI 17/12/60
'Die Schöne Müllerin'	Trans. Lalura Pollock		c.1860	J. J. Ewer & Co	English; German	Arts & Social Sciences Library, Bristol M1621.4.S3
'Serenade' ['Ständchen']	arr. Jose Maria de Ciebra	guitar	c.1860	Sheard	n/a	RAM Rare Books XX(146459.2) & Reserve 62.01 CIEBRA
'Der Wanderer'			c.1860	T. Boosey & Co	German	BL H.1847.g
Impromptu in B flat major, No. 3, Op. 142 (D935)			1860	unknown	n/a	BL h.3040.(1.)
'I'd carve it on the Bark of ev'ry Tree' ['Ungeduld']	trans. A. Carleton		1861	Ashdown & Parry	English	BL H.2150.(15.)
'Three Songs' Contents: 'Ave Maria', 'Huntsman Rest' ['Jäger Ruhe'], 'My Hawk is Tired (The lay of the imprisoned huntsman)' ['Lied des Gefangenen Jägers']			1861	Ashdown & Parry	English; German	BL H.2150.(21.)
nothing specific			1861	C. Lonsdale	Unspecified	TI 25/12/61
'Popular Dance Music by Schubert'			1861	Chappell & Co	n/a	BL F.161.

‘Schubert’s Melodies, for the Pianoforte’	Brinley Richards (1819-1885)		1861	unknown	n/a	BL h.760.e.(22.)
Four Impromptus, Op. 142 (D935)	ed. Charles Hallé	piano	1861	unknown	n/a	BL h.3040.(4.)
‘All my peace is gone’ [‘Gretchen am Spinnrade’]	trans. A. Carleton		1861	unknown	English	BL H.2150.(20.)
‘Scents refreshing, winds caressing’ [‘Lob der Tränen’]	trans. A. Carleton		1861	unknown	English; German	BL H.2150.(17.)
‘Serenade’ [‘Ständchen’]	trans. A. Carleton		1861	unknown	English; German	BL H.2150.(16.)
‘The Balmy Breeze of lovely May’ [‘Frühlingsglaube’]	trans. A. Carleton		1861	unknown	English; German	BL H.2150.(18.)
‘The Stormwinds are howling’ [‘Die junge Nonne’]	trans. A. Carleton		1861	unknown	English; German	BL H.2150.(19.)
‘The Erl King’ [‘Erlkönig’]			1861	unknown	English	BL H.2150.(8.)
Impromptu in B flat major, No. 3, Op. 142 (D935)			1861	unknown	n/a	BL h.3040.(20.)
Impromptu in E Flat major, No. 2, Op. 90 (D899)			1861	unknown	n/a	BL h.3040.(2.)
Impromptu in G flat major, No. 3, Op. 90 (D899)			1861	unknown	n/a	BL h.3040.(21.)
Impromptu in G flat major, No. 3, Op. 90 (D899)			1861	Hutchings & Romer	n/a	King’s College London Music/UNB. M25.Sch78 Op.30/3

March No. 5 (D819)	arr. W.T. Best	organ	1861-1867	Novello, Ewer & Co	n/a	RCM H304/13 & XXVIII.B.23(1)
Le Meunier et le Torrent	arr. Sigismund Thalberg	piano	1862	Cramer, Beale & Wood	Unspecified	TI 18/06/62
Three Melodies	arr. Sigismund Thalberg	piano	1862	Metzler & Co	n/a	BL h.692.a.(6.)
'The Tear' ['Lob der Tränen']	trans. G. Linley		1862	unknown	English; French	BL H.2150.(2.)
Divertissement, sur deux valses de F. Schubert. (Homage [sic] aux belles Viennoises, Op. 67.)	Ernst Pauer	piano	1863	Addison & Lucas	n/a	BL h.1329.g.(1.)
'Yes, or No?' ['Der Neugierige']	trans. J. Oxenford		1863	Cramer, Beale & Wood	English	BL H.2150.(3.)
'When Hearts that are true (Dis le moi)' ['Die vier Weltalter']			1863	Lamborn Cock, Hutchings & Co	English; French	BL H.2150.(4.)
'Le Désir' ['Sehnsucht']	arr. Emanuel Aguilar	piano	1863	unknown	n/a	BL h.1338.(12.)
Mélodies de Schubert (Études d'expression)	Henri Roubier	piano	1863	unknown	n/a	BL h.1361.a.(1.)
'Come, thou monarch of the vine' ['Trinklied']			1864	C. Lonsdale	English; German	University Library, Anderson Room, Cambridge A1871.6775(27)
'Hark, hark the lark' ['Ständchen']			1864?	C. Lonsdale	English; German	University Library,

						Anderson Room, Cambridge A1871.6775(19)
‘Who is Sylvia?’ [‘An Silvia’]			1864	C. Lonsdale	English; German	University Library, Anderson Room, Cambridge A1871.6775(12)
Book (2) of Schubert’s Songs	arr. L. Engel	Harmonium	1864	Chappell & Co	n/a	BL h.2583.a.(8.)
Grandes Marches, Nos.1-3, Op. 40 (D819)			1864	Cramer & Co	n/a	BL h.3040.(6.)
‘The avowal (Dis le moi)’ [‘Die vier Weltalter’]	trans. John Oxenford	duet version - ‘Sung by Madame Trebelli & Signor Bettini’	1864	Duncan Davison & Co	English; French	University Library, Anderson Room, Cambridge A1871.2083(1) & BL H.2150.(6.)
‘The avowal (Dis le moi)’ [‘Die vier Weltalter’]	trans. John Oxenford	solo version - ‘Sung by Madame Trebelli & Signor Bettini’	1864	Duncan Davison & Co	English; French	University Library, Anderson Room, Cambridge A1871.2083(2) & BL

						H.2150.(5.)
Four Impromptus, Op. 142 (D935)	ed. Charles Hallé		1864	unknown	n/a	BL h.1481.f.(5.)
Moments Musicaux, Op. 94 (D780)	ed. Charles Hallé		1864	unknown	n/a	BL h.3040.(5.)
'Spirit of Slumber' ['Ave Maria']			1864	unknown	English	BL H.2150.(7.)
Impromptu in G major, No. 3, Op. 90 (D899)	ed. Lindsay Sloper		1864	Cramer, Wood & Co	n/a	BL h.3040.(18.)
'Weary Flowers their Buds are closing' ['Ständchen']	trans. Thomas Oliphant		1864-1870	Cramer & Co	English; German	RCM D1296/21 & XXV.B.24(10)
Souvenir de Schubert	Lindsay Sloper	'Madame Arabella Goddard's new piece.' For piano.	1865	Boosey & Co	n/a	BL h.736.a.(18.)
2 Marches Caractéristiques, Op. 121 (D968b, formerly 886)	ed. Charles Hallé		1865	Chappell & Co	n/a	BL h.3040.(10.) & R.M.26.h.9.(7.)
3 Heroic Marches, Op. 27 (D602)	ed. Charles Hallé	duets for piano	1865	Chappell & Co	n/a	BL h.3040.(12.) &

						R.M.26.h.9.(3.)
3 Marches militaires, Op. 51 (D733)	ed. Charles Hallé	duets for piano	1865	Chappell & Co	n/a	BL h.3040.(7.) & R.M.26.h.9.(9.)
Andantino varié, No. 1, Op. 84	ed. Charles Hallé	duet for piano	1865	Chappell & Co	n/a	BL h.3040.(8.) & R.M.26.h.9.(6.)
Grandes Marches, Op. 40 (D819)	ed. Charles Hallé	piano	1865	Chappell & Co	n/a	BL h.3040.(11.) & R.M.26.h.9.(2.)
'Good night' ['Gute Nacht']	trans. Clarina Macfarren		1865?	Chappell & Co	English; German	University Library, Anderson Room, Cambridge A.1871.7394(3)
'Retrospect' ['Rückblick']	trans. Clarina Macfarren		1865?	Chappell & Co	English; German	University Library, Anderson Room, Cambridge A.1871.7394(4)
'The question' ['Der Neugierige']	trans. Clarina Macfarren	'Original key B'	1865?	Chappell & Co	English; German	University Library, Anderson Room, Cambridge A.1871.7394(5)

‘The mighty trees bend’ [‘Die junge Nonne’]	trans. F. W. Rosier	‘Sung by Madlle. Florence Lancia’	1865?	Chappell & Co	English; German	University Library, Anderson Room, Cambridge A.1871.6914(14)
‘A winter’s walk’ [‘Winterreise’]	trans. John Oxenford	‘Sung by Madlle. Florence Lancia’	1865?	Chappell & Co	English; German	University Library, Anderson Room, Cambridge A.1871.6914(15)
Rondo in D major, Op. 138 (D608)	ed. Charles Hallé	piano	1865?	Chappell & Co	n/a	Bodleian Library, Oxford Mus.122 c.176 (23) & BL h.3183.p.(2.)
‘The linden tree’ [‘Der Lindenbaum’]			1865?	Chappell & Co	English; German	University Library, Anderson Room, Cambridge A.1871.7394(1)
‘Compositions pour piano de Fr. Schubert’	arr. Louis Köhler & L. Winkler	Piano	1865?	Enoch & Sons	n/a	Glasgow Sp Coll Farmer f121
Mass No. 6 in E flat (D950)		4 solo voices, 4 part chorus (SATB), & piano	1865	J. J. Ewer & Co	Latin	RCM D1296/1 & XXV.B.24(1)

						& D773 &XVIII.A.10
Grand Funeral March for Alexander I (D859)	arr. E. Silas	organ	c.1865	Novello, Ewer & Co	n/a	Leeds Brotherton Collection Music SCH
Rondeau brillant, No. 2, Op. 84	ed. Charles Hallé		1865	unknown	n/a	BL h.3040.(9.)
‘Who is Sylvia?’ [‘An Silvia’]			1865?	W. Williams	English; German	University Library, Anderson Room, Cambridge A.1871.6854(7)
‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	trans. T. Arnold		1865?	W. Williams	English; German	University Library, Anderson Room, Cambridge A.1871.6854(2)
Mass No. 1 in F (D105)	arr. Ebenezer Prout	vocal score with pianoforte accompaniment	1865-1873	Augener & Co	Latin	RCM C107/6 & IX.A.9(6)
Mass No. 3 in B flat (D324)	arr. Ebenezer Prout	vocal score with pianoforte accompaniment	1865-1873	Novello, Ewer & Co	Latin	RCM C115/7 & IX.A.16(7)

La Fontaine by F. Schubert : caprice brillant pour le piano, Op. 55	Stephen Heller (1813-1888)	Based on "Wohin?" by Franz Schubert	1866	Ashdown & Parry	n/a	BL h.1226.x.(18.)
'Barcarolle' ['Auf dem Wasser zu singen']	trans. F. Enoch		1866	Ashdown & Parry	English	BL H.2150.(22.)
3 Heroic Marches, Op. 27 (D602)			1866	Ashdown & Parry	n/a	BL h.3040.(3.)
Four Impromptus Op. 90 (D899) and Four Impromptus, Op. 142 (D935)		'Played by Charles Hallé'	1866	Ashdown & Parry	n/a	University Library, Anderson Room, Cambridge MR340.a.85.21
Les Moments musicaux, Op. 94 (D780)			1866?	Ashdown & Parry	n/a	University Library, Anderson Room, Cambridge MR340.a.85.21
Les Moments musicaux, Op. 94 (D780)			1866	unknown	n/a	BL h.3040.(19.)
nothing specific			1866	Litloff	Unspecified	TI 24/10/66 DN 07/11/66 24/12/66 25/12/66 26/12/66

A series of movements from the works of F. Schubert arranged for the Organ	arr. E. Prout	organ	1866	unknown	n/a	BL h.880.(19.)
Six Melodies for the Harmonium	L. Engel		1866	unknown	n/a	BL h.2583.b.(4.)
Four Impromptus Op. 90 (D899)			1866	unknown	n/a	BL h.3040.(22.)

APPENDIX 8: SIR CHARLES HALLÉ'S CONCERTS IN MANCHESTER

Source: Thomas Batley (ed.), Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts in Manchester: A list of vocal and instrumental soloists (with the dates of their appearances since the commencement of the concerts); members of the orchestra, and the instruments they have played, the total number of years engaged; also, the whole of the programmes of concerts from January 30th, 1858, to March 7th 1895 (Manchester: Long Millgate, 1896).

Titles of works given in language printed (standardizations made). Some unexpected titles may appear in the context of Schubert's name, which have been left as according to the original source. Original German titles are given in brackets where available.

Date - d/m/y (1800s)	**Piece**	**Performer (first name given where possible)**
10/04/58	'Serenade' ['Ständchen']	Charles Hallé
28/10/58	'Der Erlkönig'	Merei
	Song (arr. for pianoforte by Liszt)	Charles Hallé
07/12/59	*Valse Caprice* by Schubert and Liszt	Charles Hallé
14/12/59	'Pourquoi retarder mon bonheur' ['Alinde'] [The Era, however, published that 'Ave Maria' was sung.]	Lemmens-Sherrington
04/01/60	'Serenade' ['Ständchen']	Charles Hallé
01/02/60	'Oh, who rides by night through the forest so wild?' ['Der Erlkönig']	Clara Novello and Charles Hallé
	'Das Posthorn'	Clara Novello

28/03/60	*Valse Caprice* by Schubert and Liszt	Charles Hallé
17/10/61	Marche funèbre by Schubert and Thalberg	Charles Hallé
19/12/61	'Eloge des larmes' ['Lob der Tränen']	Charles Hallé
23/10/62	*Valse Brillante*	Charles Hallé
08/01/63	Andante in A minor (from Symphony No. 9 in C major)	Orchestra
22/01/63	Moment Musical in F minor, No. 3, Op. 94 (D780)	Charles Hallé
05/01/63	'Who is Sylvia?' ['An Silvia']	Rudersdorff
	'Hark, hark the lark' ['Ständchen']	Rudersdorff
17/12/63	Moments Musicaux in A flat major and F minor, Nos. 2 and 3, Op. 94 (D780)	Charles Hallé
12/01/65	Symphony No. 9 in C major	Orchestra
	Two 'Moments Musicaux'	Charles Hallé
09/11/65	*Rosamunde* - Overture	Orchestra
25/10/66	Impromptu in B flat major, Op. 142 (D935)	Charles Hallé
07/02/67	Rondo Brillant in B minor, Op. 70 (D895)	Joseph Joachim and Charles Hallé
05/12/67	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	Orchestra
	Valse Caprice in A minor [part of *Soirées de Vienne* (S427) by Liszt based on Schubert's music]	Charles Hallé
26/12/67	'Thou art my hope (The Appeal)'	Sir Charles Santley
30/01/68	Symphony No. 9 in C major	Orchestra
	'Regret'	Sims Reeves

20/02/68	Andante and Scherzo (from Octet in F major, Op. 166 (D803))	Orchestra
29/10/68	Entr'acte No. 3 from *Rosamunde*	Orchestra
12/11/68	Italian Overture in C major, Op. 170 (D590)	Orchestra
26/11/68	Entr'acteNo.3 from *Rosamunde*	Orchestra
03/12/68	*Alfonso und Estrella* - Overture	Orchestra
07/01/69	Impromptu in F minor, Op. 90 (D899) (either No. 1 or 4]	Charles Hallé
25/02/69	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	Orchestra
	Impromptu in B flat major, Op. 142 (D935)	Charles Hallé
28/10/69	Entr'acte No. 3 and Ballet No. 2 from *Rosamunde*	Orchestra
25/11/69	Ballet No.2 from *Rosamunde*	Orchestra
	'Wohin?'	Regan
	'Die böse Farbe'	Regan
02/12/69	Rondo Brillant in B minor, Op. 70 (D895)	Norman-Neruda and Charles Hallé
30/12/69	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	Orchestra
06/01/70	*Valse Caprice* by Schubert and Liszt	Charles Hallé
20/01/70	*Rosamunde* - Overture	Orchestra
03/02/70	Entr'acte from *Rosamunde*	Orchestra
17/02/70	'Shepherds' Chorus' from *Rosamunde*	choir and orchestra
24/02/70	'Ave Maria'	Cole
27/10/70	Impromptu in F minor, No. 4, Op. 142 (D935)	Charles Hallé

10/11/70	*Die Freunde von Salamanca*- Overture	Orchestra
17/11/70	'Shepherds' Chorus' and Shepherds' Melodies from *Rosamunde*	choir and orchestra
24/11/70	'Der Lindenbaum'	Julius Stockhausen
	'Rückblick'	Julius Stockhausen
29/12/70	Entr'acte from *Rosamunde*	Orchestra
05/01/71	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Garcia [possibly Michelle Ferdinande Viardot (née Garcia)
19/01/71	Overture in D major (D590)	Orchestra
23/02/71	'Adina' ['Alinde']	Enriquez
	Rondo Brillant in B minor, Op. 70 (D895)	Joseph Joachim and Charles Hallé
09/03/71	'Gretchen am Spinnrade'	Garcia [possibly Michelle Ferdinande Viardot (née Garcia)]
28/12/71	Andante (from Symphony No. 4 in C minor)	orchestra
04/01/72	*Valse Caprice in A minor* [part of *Soirées de Vienne* (S427) by Liszt based on Schubert's music]	Charles Hallé
08/02/72	Andante in E major (from Sonata in A minor, Op. 164 (D537)	Charles Hallé
29/02/72	'Geheimes'	Julius Stockhausen
	'Greisengesang'	Julius Stockhausen
07/03/72	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	orchestra
31/10/72	'Wohin?'	Lallemant
21/11/72	Ballet from *Rosamunde*	orchestra

05/12/72	*Valse Caprice in E major* by Schubert and Liszt [part of *Soirées de Vienne* (S427) by Liszt based on Schubert's music]	Charles Hallé
26/12/72	March in C minor (arr. for full orchestra by Liszt No. 4 (S.632))	orchestra
02/01/73	'Shepherds' Chorus' from *Rosamunde*	
09/01/73	Entr'acte from *Rosamunde*	orchestra
16/01/73	Funeral March in E flat minor (arr. for full orchestra by Liszt, No. 1 (S.426))	orchestra
20/02/73	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	orchestra
	Rondo Brillant in B minor, Op. 70 (D895)	Joseph Joachim and Charles Hallé
20/11/73	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	orchestra
04/12/73	*Alfonso und Estrella* - Overture	orchestra
11/12/73	March in B minor (arr. for orchestra by Liszt No. 1 (S.632))	orchestra
08/01/74	'Lob der Tränen' arr. Liszt	Charles Hallé
29/01/74	Fantasy in C major, Op. 15 (D760) (arr. for piano and orchestra by Liszt)	Charles Hallé
19/02/74	*Rosamunde* - Overture	orchestra
05/03/74	Fantasy in C major, Op. 15 (D760) (arr. for piano and orchestra by Liszt)	Charles Hallé
05/11/74	Fantasy in C major, Op. 15 (D760) (arr. for piano and orchestra by Liszt)	Charles Hallé
10/12/74	Symphony No. 9 in C major	orchestra

	Valse Caprice in A minor [part of *Soirées de Vienne* (S427) by Liszt based on Schubert's music]	Charles Hallé
24/12/74	'Der Tod und das Mädchen'	Sterling
04/03/75	'Die junge Nonne'	Sophie Löwe
28/10/75	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	orchestra
06/01/76	Impromptu in B flat major, Op. 142 (D935)	Charles Hallé
27/01/76	'Der Wanderer'	Behrens
10/02/76	*Fierrabras* - Overture	orchestra
02/03/76	'Du bist die Ruh'	Löwe
26/10/76	'Der Wanderer'	Reaeker
14/12/76	Soirees de Vienne by Schubert and Liszt	Anna Mehlig
08/02/77	Symphony No. 9 in C major	orchestra
25/10/77	Entr'acte No. 3 and Ballet No. 2 from *Rosamunde*	orchestra
22/11/77	Italian Overture in C major, Op. 170 (D590)	orchestra
17/01/78	Fantasy in C major, Op. 15 (D760)	Charles Hallé
21/02/78	*Rosamunde* - Overture	orchestra
07/03/78	'Am Meer'	Henschel
21/11/78	'Ave Maria'	Pappenheim
	'Ungeduld'	Pappenheim
26/12/78	Impromptu in B flat major, Op. 142 (D935)	Charles Hallé
16/01/79	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	orchestra

06/03/79	'Das Rosenband'	Henschel
20/11/79	Symphony No. 9 in C major	orchestra
04/12/79	*Valse Caprice in A minor* [part of *Soirées de Vienne* (S427) by Liszt based on Schubert's music]	Charles Hallé
29/01/80	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	orchestra
	Impromptu in G flat major, Op. 90 (D899)	orchestra
04/11/80	'Heidenröslein'	Koch-Bossenberger
18/11/80	*Rosamunde* - Overture	orchestra
02/12/80	March in B minor (arr. for orchestra by Liszt No. 1 (S.632))	orchestra
06/01/81	'The Hurdy-gurdy Player' ['Der Leiermann'], 'The Butterfly' ['Der Schmetterling'] and 'Wandering' ['Das Wandern'] all transcribed by Heller	Charles Hallé
17/02/81	'Heidenröslein'	Orgeni
03/03/81	'The Hurdy-gurdy Player' ['Der Leiermann'], 'The Butterfly' ['Der Schmetterling'] and 'Wandering' ['Das Wandern'] all transcribed by Heller	Charles Hallé
10/11/81	Symphony No. 9 in C major	orchestra
19/01/82	'Auf dem Wasser zu Singen', 'Du bist die Ruh' and 'The Erlking' ['Erlkönig'] all arr. by Liszt	Charles Hallé
02/02/82	*Alfonso und Estrella* - Overture	orchestra

09/11/82	'The full moon rises' ['Der Vollmond strahlt'] from *Rosamunde*	Davies
04/01/83	Symphony No. 9 in C major	orchestra
18/01/83	Entr'acte from *Rosamunde*	orchestra
08/02/83	'Who is Sylvia?' ['An Silvia']	Fassett
08/03/83	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	orchestra
13/12/83	Italian Overture in C major, Op. 170 (D590)	orchestra

APPENDIX 9: SCHUBERT'S MUSIC AT THE CRYSTAL PALACE

Sources: Programme notes located at Royal College of Music Library, Boxes 1-13, nineteenth century periodicals (see bibliography) and Michael Musgrave, The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 97, 222-226.

Date - d/m/y (1800s)	**Piece**	**Performer**
06/10/55	Quartet for four trombones	unknown
05/04/56	Symphony No. 9 in C major *English Premiere	orchestra
12/04/56	Andante, Scherzo, and Finale from Symphony	orchestra
15/11/56	Fantasia on 'Le Désir'	Papé (clarinet)
22/11/56	Fantasia on 'Le Désir'	Papé (clarinet)
05/12/56	Adagio from Symphony No. 6 in C major	orchestra
10/04/57	unknown from periodical article	unknown
11/07/57	Symphony No. 9 in C major	orchestra
01/08/57	*Rosamunde* - Overture	orchestra
20/02/58	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Borchardt (voice), Allan Irving (violin)
25/12/58	'Ave Maria' - instrumental	Becker (cornet), Pape (clarinet), Svendsen (lute), Manns (violin), Gunter (piano), Sir August Manns (conductor)
16/04/59	*Rosamunde* - Overture	orchestra

19/11/59	Symphony No. 9 in C major	orchestra
10/11/60	Marche Militaire, Op. 51 (D733) arr. for full orchestra by August Manns	orchestra
05/02/61	Marche Militaire	orchestra
13/02/61	'Ave Maria' - solo for cornet	Levy
20/02/61	*Rosamunde* - Overture	orchestra
09/08/61	Marche Militaire, Op. 51 (D733)	unknown
09/11/61	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Karl Johann Formes
12/04/62	'Du bist die Ruh'	Elizabeth Robertine Henderson
03/05/62	'Der Wanderer'	Karl Johann Formes
22/11/62	'Ungeduld'	Elvira Behrens
13/12/62	2 Marches Caractéristiques, Op. 121 (D968b, formerly 886)	unknown
17/12/64	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Salvatore Marchesi
25/03/65	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Fass
18/03/65	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Lewis Thomas
17/02/66	Scherzo from Symphony in C Major [either No. 6 or No. 9]	orchestra
21/04/66	Symphony No. 9 in C major	orchestra
18/08/66	Marche Militaire, No. 1, Op. 51 (D733)	Military and Orchestral Bands and Eight Pianists
18/08/66	'Erlkönig'	Elvira Behrens
06/10/66	Fantasy in C major, Op. 15 (D760), arr. for piano and orchestra by Franz Liszt	F. Hartvigson (pianoforte)

13/10/66	*Alfonso und Estrella* - Overture [questionable whether this piece was played as Musgrave attributes the English Premiere as occurring 03/11/66]	orchestra
03/11/66	*Alfonso und Estrella* - Overture *English Premiere	orchestra
10/11/66	Entr'acte No. 1 and No. 3 and 'Der Vollmond strahlt' from *Rosamunde* *English Premiere of Entr'actes	orchestra
28/11/66	Symphony No. 9 in C major	orchestra
29/11/66	Symphony No. 9 in C major	orchestra
01/12/66	Italian Overture in C major, Op. 170 (D590) *English Premiere	orchestra
01/12/66	Offertorium, *Salve Regina* *English Premiere	orchestra
16/03/67	Entr'actes, 'Der Vollmond strahlt', and Ballet No. 1 and No. 2 from *Rosamunde* *English Premieres of the Ballets	Hermine Rudersdorff and orchestra
06/04/67	Symphony No. 8 in B minor *English Premiere	orchestra
28/02/68	Symphony No. 4 in C minor *English Premiere	orchestra
03/10/68	'Serenade' ['Ständchen']	Vernon Rigby, Ernst Pauer (piano)
17/10/68	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	orchestra

14/11/68	*The Song of Miriam* [*Mirjams Siegesgesang*] (orch. Lachner) *English premiere	Helen Lemmens-Sherrington & choir
21/11/68	Symphony No. 6 in C major *English Premiere	orchestra
19/12/68	*The Song of Miriam [Mirjams Siegesgesang]* (orch. Lachner)	Banks & choir **in pencil on programme note Banks is crossed out and Lemmens-Sherrington is written
30/01/69	'Die Post'	Carola, Franklin Taylor (piano)
13/02/69	Ballet No. 2 from *Rosamunde*	orchestra
17/04/69	'The Wanderer' ['Der Wanderer']	Lewis Thomas, Robert Beringer (piano)
02/10/69	Entr'acte No. 3 and Ballet No. 2 from *Rosamunde*	orchestra
09/10/69	*Die Freunde von Salamanka* - Overture *English Premiere	orchestra
09/10/69	Clavierstück in E flat minor	Charles Hallé
12/02/70	*Alfonso und Estrella* - Overture, the Andante and Allegro	orchestra
12/03/70	'The Linden Tree' ['Der Lindenbaum']	Enriques
12/03/70	'Alinde' Op. 81 written in pencil on programme	unknown
04/02/71	Entr'acte No. 3 from *Rosamunde*	orchestra
04/02/71	Andante con moto (Air and Variations in G minor)	orchestra

15/04/71	Symphony No. 9 in C major	orchestra
21/10/71	Variations from the Quartet in D minor (D810)	strings in the orchestra
16/03/72	'Die Nebensonnen'	Anna Regan, Oscar Beringer (piano)
16/03/72	'Heidenröslein'	Anna Regan, Oscar Beringer (piano)
06/04/72	Symphony No. 9 in C major	orchestra
01/02/73	*Rosamunde* - Overture	orchestra
01/02/73	'Night in the Forest' ['Nachtgesang im Walde']	Henry Guy, W.A. Howells, Wadmore, and Pope with chorus and accompaniment of four horns
01/02/73	Symphony No. 5 in B flat major *English Premiere	orchestra
01/02/73	'Der Vollmond strahlt' from *Rosamunde*	Helen Lemmens-Sherrington
01/02/73	'O Lord Our God' ['Hymnus an den heiligen Geist']	Henry Guy, W.A. Howells, L.N. Parker and H.A. Pope with chorus and accompaniment of full wind band
01/02/73	'Gondolier' ['Gondelfahrer']	Henry Guy, W.A. Howells, Wadmore, and Pope with Parter (piano)
26/04/73	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	orchestra
18/10/73	*The Song of Miriam [Mirjams Siegesgesang]* (orch. Lachner)	Helen Lemmens-Sherrington & choir
25/10/73	'Leise flehen meine Lieder' ['Ständchen', Rellstab]	George Werrenrath

01/11/73	Entr'acte No. 1 and No. 2, 'Der Vollmond strahlt', Shepherds' Melodies, Ballet No. 2 from *Rosamunde*	orchestra and Helen Lemmens-Sherrington
08/11/73	'The Appeal'	Gustave Garcia
06/12/73	'Der Doppelgänger'	Antoinette Sterling, Zimmerman (accompanist)
17/01/74	Symphony No. 9 in C major	orchestra
31/01/74	'Der Tod und das Mädchen'	Antoinette Sterling
14/02/74	Italian Overture in C major, Op. 170 (D590)	orchestra
14/03/74	Octet (D803)	unknown
11/04/74	'Frühlingstraum'	Noriny
18/04/74	'Serenade' ['Ständchen']	Edward Lloyd
02/05/74	'Der Wanderer'	Conrad Behrens
02/05/74	'Gretchen am Spinnrade'	Melitta Otto-Alvsleben
10/10/74	'The Erl King' ['Erlkönig']	Sir Charles Santley, Oscar Beringer (accompanist)
17/10/74	'Irrlicht'	Antoinette Sterling, Willem Coenen (accompanist)
17/10/74	'Letzte Hoffnung'	Antoinette Sterling, Willem Coenen (accompanist)
24/10/74	'Serenade' ['Ständchen']	Edward Lloyd, Oscar Beringer (accompanist)
24/10/74	'Heidenröslein'	Otto-Alvsleben, Oscar Beringer (accompanist)

21/11/74	‘The Secret’ [‘Geheimes’]	Vernon Rigby, Dannreuther (accompanist)
12/12/74	Symphony No. 9 in C major	orchestra
16/01/75	‘Ungeduld’	Sophie Löwe, Oscar Beringer (accompanist)
16/01/75	‘Regret’	Edward Lloyd, Oscar Beringer (accompanist)
16/01/75	‘Hark, hark the lark’ [‘Ständchen’]	Edward Lloyd, Oscar Beringer (accompanist)
23/01/75	‘Ave Maria’	Sims Reeves, Sidney Naylor (accompanist)
06/02/75	‘Die junge Nonne’	Sophie Löwe
13/02/75	*Valse* by Liszt	Hans von Bülow
13/02/75	‘Wohin’	Johanna Levier, F. Frewer (accompanist)
20/02/75	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	orchestra
27/02/75	Ballet No. 1, Shepherds’ Melodies, ‘Shepherds’ Chorus’, Ballet No. 2 from *Rosamunde*	orchestra and choir
27/03/75	‘Jehova’ [‘Die Allmacht’] as adapted by Liszt for tenor solo, chorus of tenors and bases and orchestra	Edward Lloyd, Tenor and Bass choir, and Orchestra
15/05/75	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	orchestra
15/05/75	Impromptu in F minor, No. 1, Op. 142 (D935)	Charles Hallé

09/10/75	‘Serenade’ [‘Ständchen’]	Vernon Rigby
20/11/75	Symphony No. 5 in B flat major	
15/01/76	‘Impatience’ [‘Ungeduld’]	Osgood, Alberto Randegger (accompanist)
22/01/76	‘Der Kreuzzug’	Antoinette Sterling, Marie Krebs (accompanist)
22/01/76	‘Der Wachtelsschlag’	Antoinette Sterling, Marie Krebs (accompanist)
29/01/76	‘Du bist die Ruh’	Sophie Löwe, Oscar Beringer (accompanist)
29/01/76	‘Hark, hark the lark’ [‘Ständchen’]	Sophie Löwe, Oscar Beringer (accompanist)
12/02/76	*Alfonso und Estrella* - Overture	orchestra
04/03/76	Symphony in C major arranged by Josef Joachim (Originally known as the Grand Duo, Op. 140 (D812))	orchestra
04/03/76	‘The Erl King’ [‘Erlkönig’]	George E. Fox
18/03/76	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	orchestra
18/03/76	‘Frühlingsglaube’	Thekla Friedländer
08/04/76	Allegro for Strings in C minor (D703)	unknown
28/10/76	*Alfonso und Estrella* - Overture	orchestra
25/11/76	Symphony No. 9 in C major	orchestra
10/02/77	Fantasy in C major, Op. 15 (D760), arr. for piano and orchestra by Franz Liszt	Walter Bache and orchestra

10/02/77	‘Ave Maria’	Nannie Louise Hart
17/03/77	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	orchestra
14/04/77	Impromptu posthumous work, composed 1828 [most likely one from Op. 142 though these were composed in 1827]	Ernst Pauer
28/04/77	‘The Mock Suns’ [‘Die Nebensonnen’]	Edward Lloyd
28/04/77	‘Serenade’ [‘Ständchen’]	Edward Lloyd
28/04/77	The Song of Miriam [Mirjams Siegesgesang] arr. Franz Lachner	Osgood, choir and orchestra
05/05/77	‘Am Meer’	George Henschel
20/10/77	Symphony No. 2 in B flat major *World Premiere	orchestra
20/10/77	‘Dithyrambe’	unknown
27/10/77	‘The Appeal’	Gustave Garcia
08/12/77	‘Die junge Nonne’ arr. Liszt for orchestra	Matilda Savertal and orchestra
09/02/78	‘The Erl King’ [‘Erlkönig’]	Sir Charles Santley, Sidney Naylor (accompanist)
30/03/78	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	orchestra
06/04/78	‘Der Lindenbaum’	Amalie Joachim (stage name: Amalie Weiss), Neitzel (accompanist)
23/11/78	‘Through the Night’ [‘Ständchen’]	Edward Lloyd
15/02/79	Symphony No. 9 in C major	orchestra
08/03/79	Fantasy in C major, Op. 15 (D760), arr. for piano and orchestra by Franz Liszt	Marie Krebs and orchestra

22/03/79	‘Sehnsucht’	Helena Arnim
29/03/79	Mass in E flat (D950)	Anna Williams, Bolingbroke Mudie, Shakespeare, R. Hollins, Henry A. Pope, choir and orchestra
05/04/79	‘Mignon’s Gesang’	Osgood, F.H. Cowen (accompanist)
12/04/79	‘Ave Maria’, arr. Violin	Alfred Piatti
17/05/79	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	orchestra
17/05/79	‘Die Allmacht’	Barton McGuckin, Henry Gadsby (accompanist)
08/11/79	‘Regret’	Edward Lloyd
06/12/79	‘Der Neugierige’	Sophie Löwe
06/12/79	‘Böse Farbe’	Sophie Löwe
21/02/80	‘Thou whom I vowed to love’	Edward Lloyd, J.G. Boardman (accompanist)
21/02/80	Posthumous Piece in E flat major for pianoforte	Barth
03/04/80	‘Der Lindenbaum’	George Henschel
03/04/80	‘Der Leiermann’	George Henschel
10/04/80	Variations from the Quartet in D minor (D810)	unknown
26/06/80	Symphony No. 9 in C major	orchestra
23/10/80	*Des Teufel’s Lustschloss* - Overture	orchestra
23/10/80	‘L’Adieu’ [‘Adieu’; see above]	Sir Charles Santley
06/11/80	‘Heidenröslein’	Julie Koch-Bossenberger

18/12/80	Theme and Variations from the Octet (D803)	unknown
05/02/81	Symphony No. 1 in D major *World Premiere	orchestra
12/02/81	Symphony No. 2 in B flat major	orchestra
12/02/81	‘Ave Maria’	Herbert Reeves
19/02/81	Symphony No. 3 in D major *World Premiere	orchestra
26/02/81	Symphony No. 4 in C minor	orchestra
26/02/81	‘Through the Night’ [‘Ständchen’]	Edward Lloyd
05/03/81	Symphony No. 5 in B flat major	orchestra
05/03/81	‘Heidenröslein’	Orgényi
12/03/81	Symphony No. 6 in C major	orchestra
19/03/81	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	orchestra
19/03/81	Entr’acte from *Rosamunde*	orchestra
21/05/81	‘Die junge Nonne’	Hutchingson
18/03/82	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	orchestra
25/03/82	‘Regret’	Edward Lloyd
15/04/82	‘The Wanderer’ [‘Der Wanderer’]	Henry Blower
22/04/82	‘The Hostel (Churchyard)’	Mary Davies
22/04/82	‘Whither?’ [‘Wohin’]	Mary Davies
29/04/82	‘Der Vollmond strahlt’ from *Rosamunde*	Hutchingson
29/04/82	Symphony No. 10 in C major	orchestra
06/05/82	‘Trockne Blumen’	unknown
27/05/82	‘An die Leyer’	Franz Betz
03/06/82	‘The Erl King’ [‘Erlkönig’] arr. Liszt for piano	Sophie Menter

11/11/82	‘The Full Moon Rises’ [‘Der Vollmond strahlt’] from *Rosamunde*	Mary Davies
25/11/82	Symphony No. 10 in C major	orchestra
14/04/83	‘Der Neugierige’	Mary Davies
14/04/83	‘Wohin’	Mary Davies
05/05/83	Symphony No. 7 in E major as realized by John Barnett *English Premiere	orchestra
24/11/83	Symphony No. 8 in B minor	orchestra
15/12/83	‘The Erl King’ [‘Erlkönig’]	Georg Ritter

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. PRIMARY SOURCES: BOOKS

Aster, Jane, *The Habits of Good Society: A Handbook for Ladies and Gentlemen...from the Last London Edition* (New York: Carleton, 1867).

Bacon, Francis, *The Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008).

Batley, Thomas, (ed.), *Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts in Manchester: A list of vocal and instrumental soloists (with the dates of their appearances since the commencement of the concerts); members of the orchestra, and the instruments they have played, the total number of years engaged; also, the whole of the programmes of concerts from January 30th, 1858, to March 7th 1895* (Manchester: Long Millgate, 1896).

Bennett, Joseph, *Forty Years of Music 1865-1905* (London: Methuen & Co, 1908).

Burke, Edmund, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1757).

Cobbett, William, *Cobbett's Advice to Young Men* (London: 1829|R Middlesex: The Echo Library, 2006).

Crowest, Frederick, *The Great Tone-Poets: Being Short Memories of the Greater Musical Composers* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1874).

Dana, Richard Henry, *Hospitable England in the Seventies: The Diary of a Young American, 1875-1876* (no publisher or city given, 1921).

Davison, J.W., *Music During the Victorian Era From Mendelssohn to Wagner; Being the Memoirs of J. W. Davison Forty Years Music Critic of 'The Times'*, ed. Henry Davison (London: WM. Reeves, 1912).

Dawson, Charles, *The Analysis of Musical Composition* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1845).

Grove, Sir George (ed.), *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A.D. 1450-1883) By Eminent Writers, English and Foreign with Illustrations and Woodcuts in Four Volumes* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1879, 1880, 1883, 1889).

Haweis, Hugh Reginald, *Music and Morals* (London: Ibister, 1874|R London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1906).

Hueffer, Franz, *Richard Wagner and The Music of The Future: History and Aesthetics* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1874|R Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, 2009).

Joachim, Joseph, *Letters from and to Joseph Joachim*, selected and trans. Nora Bickley (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd, 1914).

Kreissle von Hellborn, Heinrich, *The Life of Franz Schubert*, trans. Arthur Duke Coleridge (London: Longmans, Green, and Co.: 1869).

Parkinson, William Wignall, *The Natural and Universal Principles of Harmony and Modulation* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co, 1873).

Queen Victoria, *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence Between the Years 1837 and 1861, Volumes 1-III*, ed. Arthur Christopher Benson and Viscount Esher (London: 1907|R London: John Murray, 1911).

Queen Victoria, *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence and Journal Between the Years 1862 and 1878, Volumes 1-III*, ed. Arthur George Earle Buckle (London: John Murray, 1926).

Rohner, G.W., *A Practical Treatise on Musical Composition* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1850) .

Sainsbury, John S., *A Dictionary of Musicians, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time* (London: no publisher, 1827).

Saint James's Hall, *Catalogue of Works performed at the Monday Popular Concerts during thirty-four seasons commencing February 14 1859 and finishing April 11 1892* (London: Chappell and Co, no date).

Schlüter, Joseph, *A General History of Music*, trans. Mrs Robert Tubbs (London: Richard Bentley, 1865).

Schumann, Robert, *Music and Musicians*, trans. Fanny Raymond Ritter (London: William Reeves, 1876).

Schumann, Robert, *On Music and Musicians*, ed. Konrad Wolff, trans. Paul Rosenfeld (London: Dennis Dobson, 1956).

Smiles, Samuel, *Self-Help; with Illustrations of Character and Conduct* (London: 1859|R Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1861).

Statham, H. Heathcote, *My Thoughts on Music and Musicians* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1892).

Taylor, Henry, *Notes from Life in Six Essays* (London: 1847|R London: John Murray, 1849).

Wagner, Richard, *On Conducting (Ueber das Dirigiren): A Treatise on Style in the Execution of Classical Music*, trans. Edward Dannreuther (London: William Reeves, 1919).

Weber, Max, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (1905|R Los Angeles: Roxbury, 2002).

Wilberforce, Edward, *Franz Schubert: A Musical Biography: From the German of Dr Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn* (London: W.H. Allen & Co, 1866).

Worgan, Thomas Danvers, *The Musical Reformer* (London: S. Maunder, 1829).

2. PRIMARY SOURCES: JOURNAL ARTICLES

Amott, Lennox, 'Manliness in Music', *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 30, No. 560 (1 October 1889), 620.

Anon., 'Alcohol', *London Review of Politics, Society, Literature, Art, and Science*, Vol. 9, No. 223 (8 October 1864), 397.

Anon., 'Alcohol and the Doctors', *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, Vol. 46, No. 1207 (14 December 1878), 745.

Anon., 'Contemporary Literature', *British Quarterly Review*, Vol. 76 (October 1882), 236.

Anon., 'Contemporary Literature: History and Biography', *Westminster Review*, Vol. 119 (January 1883), 126-127.

Anon., 'Crystal Palace Concerts', *Musical World*, Vol. 45, No. 15 (13 April 1867), 227-228.

Anon., 'Franz Schubert', *Athenaeum*, Vol. 1997 (3 February 1866), 165-166.

Anon., 'Franz Schubert', *London Review of Politics, Society, Literature, Art, and Science*, Vol. 18, No. 450 (13 February 1869), 158-159.

Anon., 'Franz Schubert', *Musical World*, Vol. 43, No. 22 (3 June 1865), 338-341.

Anon., 'Franz Schubert', *Musical World*, Vol. 57, No. 39 (27 September 1879), 616-617.

Anon., 'Frederic Chopin', *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 33 (January 1850), 101.

Anon., 'Karl Klindworth', *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 39, No. 666 (1 August 1898), 513-519.

Anon., 'Lecture on Franz Schubert', *Musical Standard*, Vol. 12, No. 664 (21 April 1877), 243.

Anon., 'Manliness in Music', *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 30, No. 558 (1 August 1889), 460-461.

Anon., 'Monday Popular Concerts', *Musical World*, Vol. 41, No. 28 (11 July 1863), 437.

Anon., 'The Music of the Future', *Monthly Musical Record*, No. 1 (October 1871), 125.

Anon., 'Musical Gossip', *Athenaeum*, Vol. 2315 (9 March 1872), 313.

Anon., 'Musical Society of London', *Musical World*, Vol. 37, No. 14 (2 April 1859), 212-214.

Anon., 'The Natural and Universal Principles of Harmony and Modulation', *Monthly Music Record*, Vol. 3 (1 January 1873), 8-9.

Anon., ‘The Natural and Universal Principles of Harmony and Modulation. With Illustrative and Analyzed Extracts from the Works of Classical Composers’, *Athenaeum*, Vol. 2386 (19 July 1873), 89.

Anon., ‘Obituary: Hugh Reginald Haweis’, *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 42, No. 697 (1 March 1901), 195.

Anon., ‘The People’s Concerts’, *Orchestra*, Vol. 17, No. 442 (15 March 1872), 378.

Anon., ‘Richard Wagner, and the Music of the Future’, *Illustrated Review: A Fortnightly Journal of Literature, Science and Art*, Vol. 1, No. 119 (April 1874), 215.

Anon., ‘Richard Wagner and the Music of the Future: History and Aesthetics’, *Athenaeum*, Vol. 2413 (24 January 1874), 132-133.

Anon., ‘Schubert’, *Athenaeum*, Vol. 2363 (8 February 1873), 187-188.

Anon., ‘Schubert at the Popular Concerts’, *Musical World*, Vol. 54, No. 53 (30 December 1876), 870.

Anon., ‘Sir Charles Hallé’, *Manchester Faces & Places*, Vol. 1, No. 7 (10 April 1890) reprinted at http://www.mlfhs.org.uk/worthies/halle.php (accessed 25 June 2011).

Anon., ‘Souvenir de la Pologne. Seventh set of Mazurkas. Frederic Chopin’, *Musical World*, Vol. 16, No. 292 (28 October 1841), 276.

Anon., [*Untitled Item]*, *Musical World*, Vol. 37, No. 15 (9 April 1859), 233.

Anon., ‘Wagner Society’, *Monthly Music Record*, Vol. 4 (February 1874), 27-28.

Bennett, Joseph, ‘Franz Schubert’, *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 38, No. 647 (1 January 1897), 12-13.

Bernays, Albert J., ‘The Alcohol Question’, *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 33 (November 1878), 683-706.

Capes, J. M., ‘Schubert’, *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 5, No. 26 (February 1869), 199-205.

Davidson, James William, ‘Sixth Philharmonic Concert’, *Musical World*, Vol. 19, No. 24 (13 June 1844), 197.

Deane, J. H., ‘Brief Notes on F. Schubert’, *Musical Standard*, Vol. 6, No. 144 (4 May 1867), 276-277.

Egg, Thaddeus, ‘Franz Schubert’, *Musical World*, Vol. 47, No. 7 (13 February 1869), 99-100 and 191-192.

G., R., ‘The Music of the Future’, *Examiner* (7 February 1874), 139-140.

H., H. R. [reviewer of], ‘*The Life of Rossini*, by Sutherland Edwards. London: Hurst and Blackett’, *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 11 (May 1869), 456-458.

Hueffer, Franz, 'Richard Wagner', *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 11, No. 63 (March 1872), 265-287.

Klindworth, Carl, 'Schubert's Symphony', *Musical World*, Vol. 37, No. 15 (9 April 1859), 235-236.

L., H. C., 'Franz Schubert', *Musical Times*, Vol. 14, No. 313 (1 March 1869), 10-11.

Maitland, John Alexander Fuller, 'Hueffer, Francis', *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900, Vol. 28,* ed. Sidney Lee (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1891), 155-156.

Martens, Frederick H. 'Schubert and the Eternal Feminine', *Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (October 1928), 539-552.

Niecks, Frederick, 'Franz Schubert: A Study', *Monthly Musical Record*, Vol. 7 (1877), 3-7, 17-21, 33-37, 100-104, 149-151.

Schmitz, Leonara, 'Robert Schumann', *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 2 (1 November 1865), 744.

[Statham, H. Heathcote] 'Schubert. By Sir George Grove, D.C.L., Director of the Royal College of Music. "Dictionary of Music and Musicians," Vol.iii. London:1882', *Edinburgh Review*, 158:324 (October 1883), 475-509.

3. PRIMARY SOURCES: JOURNALS

Age

Age and Argus

Athenaeum

Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes and Racing Register

Bells Life in London and Sporting Chronicle

Belle Assemblée; or Court and fashionable magazine

Birmingham Daily Post

Bristol Mercury

British Mothers' Magazine

Chartist

Contemporary Review

Daily News

Derby Mercury

English Gentleman

Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine

Englishwoman's Review of Literature, Science, and Art

Era

Examiner

Fortnightly Review
Gentleman's Magazine
Graphic
Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle, etc
Harmonicon
Hood's Magazine and Comic Miscellany
Hull Packet and East Riding Times
Illustrated Review: a fortnightly journal of literature, science and art
Ipswich Journal
Jackson's Oxford Journal
John Bull
Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion
Lady's Newspaper
Leeds Mercury
Liverpool Mercury
Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper
London Review of Politics, Society, Literature, Art, and Science
London Standard
Macmillan's Magazine
Manchester Times
Monthly Musical Record
Monthly Packet of Evening Readings of the English Church
Morning Chronicle
Morning Post
Musical Standard
Musical Times and Singing Class Circular
Musical World: a Weekly Record of Musical Science, Literature, and Intelligence
Neue Zeitschrift für Musik
Newcastle Courant etc
Orchestra
Pall Mall Gazette
Penny Satirist
Preston Chronicle
Preston Guardian etc
Punch, or the London Charivari
Reynolds's Newspaper
Satirist or the Censor of the Times

Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art

Sharpe's London Magazine

South London Chronicle

Southern Star and London and Brighton Patriot

Sporting Gazette

The Times

Trewman's Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser

World of Fashion: Monthly Magazine of the Courts of London and Paris Fashions, Literature, Music, Fine Arts, the Opera and the Theatres

4. PRIMARY SOURCES: CONCERT PROGRAMMES

The Crystal Palace, 1861-1883, located at Royal College of Music Library, Boxes 1-13

Dando Quartet, 1836-1859, located at the British Library

The Musical Union, 1845-1881, located at Royal College of Music, Centre for Performance History

Philharmonic Society, 1820-1883, located at Royal College of Music, Centre for Performance History

5. SCORES

Callcott, John, 'The Erl King' (London: Boosey and Co., 1884) and (London: no publisher, 1798).

Beethoven, Ludwig van, 'Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus, Op. 43', *Ludwig van Beethoven's Werke, Serie 3* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1862-90).

Liszt, Franz, 'Ave Maria: Lied von Franz Schubert', in Franz Liszt, *12 Lieder von Franz Schubert*, S.558 (Vienna: Anton Diabelli & Co, 1838), No.12.

---------- 'Erlkönig: Lied von Franz Schubert', in Franz Liszt, *12 Lieder von Franz Schubert* (Vienna: Anton Diabelli & Co, 1838), No. 4.

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, 'Symphony No. 40', *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's Werke, Serie 8* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1880).

Schubert, Franz, 'Ave Maria', ed. Max Friedlaender (Leipzig: C.F. Peters, no date).

---------- 'Der Tod und das Mädchen', *Lieder Band 1*, ed. Walther Dürr, (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1989).

---------- 'Die Stadt', *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, Serie IV: Lieder, Band 14, Teil a, ed. Walther Dürr (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988).

---------- 'Erlkönig', (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1894-1895).

---------- *Quartet in D minor (D810),* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1890).

---------- *Sonata in B flat (D960)* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1888).

---------- *String Quartet in D minor 'Death and the Maiden' (D810),* ed. Werner Aderhold (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1989).

---------- 'Symphony No. 2', *Franz Schubert's Werke, Serie I*, ed. Johannes Brahms (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1884).

---------- *Symphony No. 4 in C minor (D417), 'Tragic'* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2002).

---------- 'Symphony No. 5', *Franz Schubert's Werke, Serie I*, ed. Johannes Brahms (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1884).

---------- 'Symphony No.9', *Four Symphonies in Full Score*, ed. Johannes Brahms (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1978).

6. SECONDARY SOURCES

Amigoni, David, *Life Writing and Victorian Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

---------- *Victorian Biography: Intellectuals and the Ordering of Discourse* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993).

Anon., 'Beethoven in London Concert Life, 1800-1850', *Music Review*, Vol. 21 (1960), 207-214.

Anon., *The Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Royal Music Collection* (British Library, 2001).

Anon., 'Journal.' In *Oxford Dictionaries*, http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/journal?q=journal (accessed 24 July 2014).

Anon., 'Periodical.' In *Oxford Dictionaries*, http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/periodical?q=periodical (accessed 24 July 2014).

Applegate, Celia, 'How German Is it? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century', *19th-Century Music*, XXI/3 (Spring 1998), 274-296.

Armstrong, Meg, '"The Effects of Blackness": Gender, Race, and the Sublime in Aesthetic Theories of Burke and Kant', *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (Summer 1996), 213-236.

Atkinson, Juliette, *Victorian Biography Reconsidered: A Study of Nineteenth-Century 'Hidden' Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Ballstaedt, Andreas 'Chopin as "Salon Composer" in Nineteenth-Century German Criticism', *The Cambridge Companion to Chopin*, ed. Jim Samson, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 18-34.

Bashford, Christina, 'Educating England: Networks of Programme-Note Provision in the Nineteenth Century', *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914*, ed. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 349-376.

---------- 'Historiography and Invisible Musics: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *JAMS*, Vol. 63, No. 2 (Summer 2010), 291-360.

---------- 'John Ella and the Making of the Musical Union', *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 193-214.

---------- 'Not Just "G.": Towards a History of the Programme Note', *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 115-144.

---------- *Public Chamber-Music Concerts in London, 1835-1850; Aspects of History, Repertory and Reception* (London: 1996) Ph.D. Thesis, King's College London, University of London.

---------- *The Pursuit of High Culture: John Ella and Chamber Music in Victorian London* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007).

---------- 'Writing (British) Concert History: The Blessing and Curse of Ephemera', *Notes – Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association*, Vol. 64, No. 3 (March 2008), 458-473.

Beale, Robert, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

Beedell, A.V., *The Decline of the English Musician, 1788-1888: A Family of English Musicians in Ireland, England, Mauritius, and Australia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Berger, Melvin, *Guide to Chamber Music* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2001).

Bledsoe, Robert, 'Mendelssohn's Canonical Status in England, the Revolutions of 1848, and H. F. Chorley's "Retrogressive" Ideology', *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies, Volume 2*, ed. Jeremy Dibble and Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 139-153.

Bloom, Harold, *The Western Canon: The Books and School of the Ages* (London: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1994).

Botstein, Leon, 'Listening through Reading: Musical Literacy and the Concert Audience', *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Autumn 1992), 129-145.

Branscombe, Peter, *W.A. Mozart: Die Zauberflöte* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Briggs, Asa, 'Samuel Smiles: The Gospel of Self-Help', *Victorian Values: Personalities and Perspectives in Nineteenth-Century Society*, ed. Gordon Marsden (London: Longman, 1998), 103-113.

---------- 'Victorian Values', *In Search of Victorian Values: Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Thought and Society*, ed. Eric M. Sigsworth (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 10-26.

Brooks, Jeanice, 'Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection, and Display at Tatton Park', *Music & Letters*, Vol. 91, No. 4 (November 2010), 513-535.

Brown, A. Peter, *The Symphonic Repertoire, Volume II; The First Golden Age of the Viennese Symphony: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).

Brown, Maurice J. E., *Schubert: A Critical Biography* (London and New York: Da Capo Press, 1978).

Budds, Michael Joe, *Music at the Court of Queen Victoria: A Study of Music in the Life of the Queen and Her Participation in the Musical Life of Her Time [Volumes I-III]* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, May 1987) Ph.D. Thesis, University of Iowa.

Burgan, Mary, 'Heroines at the Piano: Women and Music in Nineteenth-Century Fiction', *The Lost Chord: Essays on Victorian Music*, ed. Nicholas Temperley (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 42-67.

Burnham, Scott, 'The "Heavenly Length" of Schubert's Music', *Ideas*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1999) http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/ideasv61/burnham.htm (accessed 2 July 2013).

Carew, Derek 'The Consumption of Music', *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 237-258.

---------- 'Victorian Attitudes to Chopin', *The Cambridge Companion to Chopin*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 222-245.

Cheng, William, 'Hearts for Sale: The French Romance and the Sexual Traffic of Musical Mimicry', *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Summer 2011), 34-71.

Chusid, Martin, 'Texts and Commentary', *Companion to Schubert's 'Schwanengesang': History, Poets, Analysis, Performance*, ed. Martin Chusid (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 90-155.

Citron, Marcia J., 'Feminist Approaches to Musicology', *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music*, ed. Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 15-34.

---------- *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Clark, G. Kitson, *The Making of Victorian England* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013).

Clive, H.P., *Schubert and His World: A Biographical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Cohen, Jere, *Protestantism and Capitalism: The Mechanisms of Influence* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 2002).

Cone, Edward T., 'Repetition and Correspondence in *Schwanengesang*' *Companion to Schubert's 'Schwanengesang': History, Poets, Analysis, Performance*, ed. by Martin Chusid (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 53-89.

Cooper, Victoria L., *The House of Novello: Practice and Policy of a Victorian Music Publisher, 1829-1866* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003).

Cone, Edward T., 'Repetition and Correspondence in *Schwanengesang*', *Companion to Schubert's 'Schwanengesang': History, Poets, Analysis, Performance*, ed. Martin Chusid (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) 53-89.

Cook, Chris and John Paxton, *European Political Facts 1789-1848* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1981).

---------- and John Paxton, *European Political Facts 1848-1918* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1978).

Cooper, Barry, *Beethoven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Cowgill, Rachel Elizabeth, *Mozart's Music in London, 1764-1829: Aspects of Reception and Canonicity* (London: 2000) Ph.D. Thesis, King's College London, University of London.

da Sousa Correa, Delia, *George Eliot, Music and Victorian Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

Dahlhaus, Carl, *Foundations of Music History*, trans. J.B. Robinson (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1997).

---------- *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to his Music*, trans. Mary Whittall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

---------- *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

Dale, Catherine, *Music Analysis in Britain in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

Danahay, Martin A., *Gender at Work in Victorian Culture: Literature, Art and Masculinity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

DeNora, Tia, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792-1803* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

Deutsch, Otto Erich, 'The Reception of Schubert's Works in England', *Monthly Musical Record*, Vol. 81 (October 1951), 200-203, 236-239.

---------- *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, trans. Eric Blom (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1946).

---------- (ed.), *Schubert: Memoirs By His Friends* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1958).

Dibble, Jeremy, '[Review of] *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealist* by William Weber', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Spring 2007), 534-536.

Eatock, Colin, *Mendelssohn and Victorian England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009)

Ehrlich, Cyril, *First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society* (Oxford: Carendon Press, 1995).

----------, Simon McVeigh, and Michael Musgrave. 'London (i), VI: Musical life: 1800-1945.' In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16904 (accessed 24 February 2009).

Ellis, Katharine, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: 'La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris', 1834-80* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Everist, Mark, 'Reception Theories, Canonic Discourses, and Musical Value', *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 378-402.

Forsyth, Michael, *Buildings for Music: The Architect, the Musician and the Listener from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

Foster, Myles Birket, *History of the Philharmonic Society of London: 1813-1912; A Record of a Hundred Years' Work in the Cause of Music* (London: John Lane, 1912).

Gál, Hans (ed.), *The Musician's World: Great Composers in Their Letters* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1965).

Gibbs, Christopher H., 'German reception: Schubert's "journey to immortality"', *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 241-253.

---------- *The Life of Schubert* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

---------- '"Poor Schubert": Images and Legends of the Composer', *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 36-55.

Gillett, Paula, *Musical Women in England, 1870-1914: 'Encroaching on All Man's Privileges'* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000).

Goldschmidt, Harry, *Franz Schubert: Ein Lebensbild* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1980).

Gorak, Jan, *The Making of the Modern Canon: Genesis and Crisis of a Literary Idea* (London: Athlone, 1991).

Gramit, David, 'The Circulation of the Lied: the Double Life of an Artwork and a Commodity', *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, ed. James Parsons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 301-314.

---------- 'Constructing a Victorian Schubert: Music, Biography, and Cultural Values', *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Summer 1993), 65-78.

Graves, Charles L., *The Life & Letters of Sir George Grove, C.B.* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1903).

Green, Edward, 'Music and The Victorian Mind: The Musical Aesthetics of the Rev. H.R. Haweis', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2008), 239-256.

Gunn, Simon, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority in the English Industrial City, 1840-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

---------- 'The Sublime and the Vulgar: the Hallé Concerts and the Constitution of 'High Culture' in Manchester c. 1850-1880', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 2.2 (Autumn 1997), 208-228.

Hall, Donald E., 'Muscular Christianity: Reading and Writing the Male Social Body', *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age*, ed. Donald E. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3-15.

Hall-Witt, Jennifer, *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2007).

Hamilton, Edith, *Mythology* (New York: Little, Brown & Company, 1957).

Harrison, Brian, *Drink and The Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971).

Hewitt, Martin, 'Victorian Milestones', *The Victorian World*, ed. Martin Hewitt (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012), 1-54.

---------- 'Why the Notion of Victorian Britain *Does* Make Sense', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (Spring 2006), 395-438.

Holub, Robert C., *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2003).

Horner, Keith, 'Manns, Sir August.' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/17664 (accessed 19 January 2009).

Houghton, Walter E., *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870* (London: Yale University Press, 1985).

Hug, Fritz, *Franz Schubert: Tragik eines Begnadeten* (München: Wilhelm Heyne Verlag, 1978).

Hughes, Meirion, *The English Musical Renaissance and the Press 1850-1914: Watchmen of Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

---------- and Robert Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance1840-1940; Constructing a National Music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).

---------- 'Hueffer, Francis (1845-1889)', *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, ed. Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (Belgium: Academia Press, 2009), 295.

Husk, W.H., et al. 'Chappell.' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05438 (accessed 4 September 2009).

Hyland, Anne, *Tautology or Teleology? Towards an Understanding of Repetition in Franz Schubert's Instrumental Chamber Music* (Cambridge: August, 2011) Ph.D. Thesis, King's College, University of Cambridge.

Jalland, Pat, *Death in the Victorian Family* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Jarvis, Adrian, *Samuel Smiles and the Construction of Victorian Values* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1997).

Jauss, Hans Robert, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1982).

Johnson, Graham (Intro and Schubert Calendar), *Franz Schubert, The Complete Songs: including piano-accompanied part songs and ensembles*, trans. Richard Wigmore, (London: Hyperion Records Ltd, 2005).

Johns-Putra, Adeline, 'Key Critical Concepts and Topics', *The Romanticism Handbook*, ed. Sue Chaplin and Joel Faflak (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011), 100-118.

Kallberg, Jeffrey, *Sex, History, and Musical Genre* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1998).

Kennedy, Michael 'Hallé, Sir Charles.' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12241 (accessed 16 June 2009).
Kerman, Joseph, 'A Few Canonic Variations', *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (September 1983), 107-125.

Kharibian, Leah, *Passionate Patrons: Victoria & Albert and the Arts* (London: Royal Collection, 2010).

Kinderman, William, *Beethoven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

King, A. Hyatt, *Some British Collectors of Music* (1963|R Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Kolbas, E. Dean, *Critical Theory and the Literary Canon* (Bolder: Westview Press, 2001).

Kővesi, Simon, 'Canonicity', *The Romanticism Handbook*, ed. Sue Chaplin and Joel Faflak (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011), 141-157.

Kramer, Lawrence, *Franz Schubert: Sexuality, Subjectivity, Song* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Kumar, Shiv K., *British Victorian Literature: Critical Assessments* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 2002).

Langley, Leanne, 'Music', *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, ed. J. Don Vann and Rosemary T VanArsdel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

---------- 'The Musical Press in Nineteenth-Century England', *Notes*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (March 1990), 583-592.

---------- 'Reception and Beyond: New Thoughts on Schubert in Nineteenth-Century England', *The Schubertian*, No. 58 (January 2008), 8-16.

---------- 'Roots of a Tradition: The First *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*', *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 168-218.

---------- 'Sainsbury's Dictionary, The Royal Academy of Music, and the Rhetoric of Patriotism', *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 65-97.

Leeming, David Adams, *The World of Myth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

Legge, Robin H., and Duncan J. Barker, 'Niecks, Friedrich [Frederick].' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/19917 (accessed 20 August 2010).

Leppert, Richard, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

---------- 'The Musician of the Imagination', *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 25-60.

Levi, Erik, '"Those Damn Foreigners": Xenophobia and British Musical Life During the First Half of the Twentieth Century', *Twentieth-Century Music and Politics: Essays in Memory of Neil Edmunds*, ed. Pauline Fairclough (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 81-96.

Levy, Janet M., 'Covert and Casual Values in Recent Writings About Music', *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Winter 1987), 3-27.

Lloyd, Stephen, 'Ephemera of Concert Life: Programmes and Press Cuttings', *Information Sources in Music*, ed. Lewis Foreman (München: K.G. Saur, 2003), 338-360.

Lockwood, Lewis, *Beethoven: The Music and the Life* (London: W.W. Norton & Co, 2003).

Longmate, Norman, *The Waterdrinkers: A History of Temperance* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1968).

Lubin, Steven, 'The Three Styles of *Schwanengesang*: A Pianist's Perspective', *Companion to Schubert's 'Schwanengesang': History, Poets, Analysis, Performance*, ed. Martin Chusid (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 191-204.

Lundskow, George, *The Sociology of Religion: A Substantive and Transdisciplinary Approach* (California: Pine Forge Press, 2008).

Marek, George R., *Beethoven: Biography of a Genius* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1969).

Mayhew, Leon, '[Review of] *Music and the Middle Class: the Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris, and Vienna Between 1830 and 1848* by William Weber', *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (November 1977), 176-178.

McClary, Susan, 'Music and Sexuality: On the Steblin/Solomon Debate', *19th Century Music*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Summer 1993), 83-88.

---------- 'On the Steblin/Solomon Debate', *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Summer 1993), 83-88.

McVeigh, Simon, '"An Audience for High-Class Music": Concert Promoters and Entrepreneurs in Late-Nineteenth-Century London', *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 162-184.

---------- *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Mellor, Anne, *Romanticism and Gender* (London: Routledge, 1993).

Messing, Scott, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, V*ol. 1*, (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2006).

Montgomery, David, *Franz Schubert's Music in Performance: Compositional Ideas, Notational Intent, Historical Realities, Pedagogical Foundations* (New York: Pendragon Press, 2010).

Musgrave, Michael, 'Changing Values in Nineteenth-Century Performance: The Work of Michael Costa and August Manns', *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 169-192.

---------- 'The Making of a Scholar: Grove's Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Schubert', *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 86-114.

---------- 'Themes of a Lifetime: The Many Interests of a Great Victorian,' *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 3-22.

---------- *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Muxfeldt, Kristina, 'Political Crimes and Liberty, or Why Would Schubert Eat a Peacock?', *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Summer 1993), 47-64.

Newbold, Brian, *Schubert: The Music and The Man* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

Nicoletti, L. J., 'Morbid Topographies: Placing Suicide in Victorian London', *A Mighty Mass of Brick and Smoke: Victorian and Edwardian Representations of London*, ed. Lawrence Phillips (Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V., 2007), 7-34.

Nicolson, Harold, *The Development of English Biography* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1968).

Onderdonk, Julian, 'Folksong Arrangements, Hymn Tunes and Church Music', *The Cambridge Companion to Vaughn Williams*, ed. Alain Frogley and Aidan J. Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 136-156.

Partin, Robert 'Biography as an Instrument of Moral Instruction', *American Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Winter 1956), 303-315.

Rappaport, Helen, *Queen Victoria: A Biographical Companion* (Santa Barbara, Ca: ABC-Clio, 2003).

Reed, John, *Schubert* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1987).

---------- 'Schubert's Reception History in Nineteenth-Century England', *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 254-262.

---------- *The Schubert Song Companion* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

Reid, Charles, *The Music Monster: A Biography of James William Davison, Music Critic of "The Times" of London 1846-1878 With Excerpts from His Critical Writings* (Quartet Books: London, 1984).

Rigby, Charles, *Sir Charles Hallé: A Portrait for Today* (Manchester: The Dolphin Press, 1952).

Rink, John, 'The Profession of Music', *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 55-86.

Ringer, Alexander L., '[Review of] *Music and the Middle Class: the Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris, and Vienna Between 1830 and 1848* by William Weber', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Spring 1977), 155-157.

Ritterman, Janet, and William Weber, 'Origins of the Piano Recital in England, 1830-1870', *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture: Instruments,*

Performers and Repertoire, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Therese Ellsworth (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 171-192.

Roberts, W. Wright, 'Key Quality', *Music and Letters*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (January 1930), 58-70.

Rohr, Deborah, *The Careers and Social Status of British Musicians, 1750-1850; A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Rosen, Charles, *Sonata Forms* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1988).

Samson, Jim, 'Chopin Reception: Theory, History, Analysis', *Chopin Studies 2*, ed. John Rink and Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1-17.

---------- 'Reception.' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40600 (accessed 1 June 2011).

Scott, Derek B., 'The Sexual Politics of Victorian Musical Aesthetics', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 119 (1994), 91-114.

---------- *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

Sessa, Anne Dzamba, 'At Wagner's Shrine: British and American Wagnerians', *Wagnerism in European Culture and Politics*, ed. David C. Large and William Weber (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 246-277.

---------- *Richard Wagner and the English* (London: Associated University Presses, 1979).

Sheridan, David Allen, *Give Us More Music: Women, Musical Culture, and Work in Wartime Britain, 1939-1946* (California: December 2007) Ph.D. Thesis, University of Southern California.

Sherr, Richard, 'Schubert, Sullivan and Grove', *Musical Times*, Vol. 121, No. 1650 (August 1980), 499-500.

Shiman, Lilian Lewis, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England* (London: Macmillian, 1988).

Showalter, Elaine, 'Hysteria, Feminism, and Gender', *Hysteria Beyond Freud*, ed. Sander L. Gilman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 286-344.

Simeone, Nigel, 'Programme note.' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/51278 (accessed 22 June 2009).

Smith, Logan Pearsall, *Four Words: Romantic, Originality, Creative, Genius* (Folcroft, PA: Folcroft Press, 1969).

Solie, Ruth A., *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

Solomon, Maynard, *Beethoven* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1998).

---------- 'Franz Schubert and the Peacocks of Benvenuto Cellini', *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Spring 1989), 193-206.

Spitzer, John, '*The Orchestra: Origins and Transformations* by Joan Peyser', *Notes*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (June 1988), 713-715.

Squire, William Barclay, *Catalogue of the King's Music Library, part III: Printed Music and Musical Literature* (London: William Clowes and Sons, Ltd, 1929).

Steblin, Rita Katherine, *Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2002).

---------- 'The Peacock's Tale: Schubert's Sexuality Reconsidered', *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Summer 1993), 5-33.

Strohm, Reinhard, 'Looking Back at Ourselves: The Problem with the Musical Work-Concept', *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?*, ed. Michael Talbot (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 128-152.

Sullivan, Herbert, and Newman Flower, *Sir Arthur Sullivan: His Life, Letters, and Diaries* (London: Cassell, 1950).

Talbot, Michael, 'The Work-Concept and Composer-Centredness', *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?*, ed. Michael Talbot (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 168-186.

Taruskin, Richard, 'C-Minor Moods: The "Struggle and Victory" Narrative and Its Relationship to Four C-Minor Works of Beethoven', *Music in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 691-739.

Taylor, Ronald, *Franz Liszt: The Man and the Musician* (London: Grafton Books, 1986).

Tellenbach, Marie-Elisabeth, 'Franz Schubert and Benvenuto Cellini: One Man's Meat', *Musical Times*, Vol. 141, No. 1870 (Spring 2000), 50-52.

Temperley, Nicholas, 'Callcott, John Wall.' In *Grove Online. Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/04604 (accessed 20 January 2010).

---------- 'Domestic Music in England 1800-1860', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 85, No. 1 (1958), 31-48.

---------- 'Macfarren, Sir George (Alexander).' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/17324 (accessed 18 September 2009).

---------- 'Xenophilia in British Musical History', ed. Bennett Zon, *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies, Volume I* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 3-19.

Tunbridge, Laura, *The Song Cycle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Tunley, David, *Salons, Singers and Songs: A Background to Romantic French Song, 1830-1870* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

Tusa, Michael C., *'Euryanthe' and Carl Maria von Weber's Dramaturgy of German Opera* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

Thayer, Alexander Wheelock, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, ed. Elliot Forbes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).

Walker, Alan, et al. 'Liszt, Franz.' In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/48265pg28 (accessed 30 August 2011).

Warrack, John, *Carl Maria von Weber* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

---------- and Rosemary Williamson, 'Hueffer, Francis.' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/13495 (accessed 1 April 2010).

---------- and Alan Walker, 'Klindworth, Karl.' In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/15153 (accessed 4 February 2010).

---------- and Rosemary Williamson, 'Wylde, Henry.' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/30636 (accessed 25 June 2011).

Waters, Chris, *British Socialists and the Politics of Popular Culture, 1884-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

Watson, Derek, *Liszt* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1989).

Weber, William, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

---------- 'The History of Musical Canon', *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 336-355.

---------- 'The Intellectual Origins of Musical Canon in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (Autumn 1994), 488-520.

---------- 'Mass Culture and the Reshaping of European Musical Taste, 1770-1870', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (June 1977), 5-22.

---------- *Music and the Middle Class: the Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris, and Vienna Between 1830 and 1848* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

---------- 'The Musician as Entrepreneur and Opportunist, 1700-1914', *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 3-24.

---------- 'The Rise of the Classical Repertoire in Nineteenth-Century Orchestral Concerts', *The Orchestra: Origins and Transformations*, ed. Joan Peyser (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1986), 361-386.

---------- *The Rise of the Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

---------- 'Wagner, Wagnerism, and Musical Idealism', *Wagnerism in European Culture and Politics*, ed. David C. Large and William Weber (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 28-71.

Widén, Anne Kristiina, *Liszt and 'The Musical Times': A Study of Reception in Victorian England* (Egham: June 2006) Ph.D. Thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London.

Wiley, Christopher Mark, *Re-Writing Composers' Lives: Critical Historiography and Musical Biography* (London: 2008) Ph.D. Thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London.

Williams, Timothy Robert, *Immortalising the Past: Symphonic Reception, Idealism and Canon in Mid-Victorian London* (Cambridge: June 2008) Ph.D. Thesis, St Catharine's College, University of Cambridge.

Winter, Robert, et al. 'Schubert, Franz.' In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25109 (accessed 20 April 2009).

Wollenberg, Susan, *Schubert's Fingerprints: Studies in the Instrumental Works* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

Woods, Robert, *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Young, Percy M., *George Grove, 1820-1900, A Biography* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan London Ltd: 1980).